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ART. I.—THE TARIKH-I-RASHIDI.*

THE *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* is a historical work by Mirzá Haidar, the cousin of the Emperor Bábar. It consists of two parts, the first being a history of the Moguls of Central Asia from about the middle of the 14th century, and the second the history of the author's own times, that is, from 1500 to 1541. The first part, as more strictly historical, is called by him *Tārīkh-i-Aṣl*, or substantive history, while he only gives to the second, which partakes of the nature of personal memoirs, the title of *Makhtasar*, or abridgment. This part is much the longer of the two, and was the first written, the author not having the courage to attempt regular historical composition until he had tried his 'prentice hand on biography.

The work has long been known as a valuable source of information about Central Asian politics in the 15th and 16th centuries, and was a good deal used by Erskine when writing his history of Bábar and Humayun. But no translation was published of it till 1895, when Messrs. Ney Elias and Denison Ross produced one with notes and an introduction. This is a most meritorious performance and a great boon to Orientalists. All we want now is that some learned society should publish an edition of the text. It is strange, perhaps, that we have not had this already; but then neither have we any edition of the Persian translation of Bábar's Memoirs, or any of the original Turkish, except one published at Kasan in Russia, which appears to be unprocurable in England.

Mirzá Haidar† completed his book in February, 1547.

* The *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* of Mirzá Muhammad Haidar Dughlát. An English version by E. Denison Ross, with commentary by N. Elias. Sampson Low, Marston & Co. London, 1895.

† He began his Memoirs several years before, for at p. 177 he speaks of 948—1541-42 as "the present date." Apparently he finished them in 950—1543, 44, for at p. 424, he gives the beginning of that year, *viz.*, April, 1543, as the date of writing. According to the Prologue, he began the *Tārīkh-i-Aṣl* in 951 or 1544, so that he was engaged on it for two or three years.

about five years after he had become ruler of Kashmír. Its composition was probably suggested by a perusal of Bábar's Memoirs, but it must be acknowledged that, if this is so, he has fallen considerably short of his prototype in interest and vividness of description. In the first place Haidar Mirzá is far more reticent—may we not say, more modest—than Bábar, telling us little or nothing about his own personality, so that we have a difficulty in knowing what sort of man he was. Secondly, he did not occupy so prominent a position. He spent nearly all his days in Central Asia, in such barbarous places as Káshghar and Tibet, and was very little in India, of which country he tells us scarcely anything, with the exception of his account of Kashmír. Then, too, his book is badly arranged, being full of repetitions and digressions and other marks of headlong writing. Evidently he never revised or worked it up in the way in which Bábar seems to have done with the first part, at least, of his Memoirs. But I am not sure if Mirzá Haidar's work will not be found to be of more sterling value. Certainly it is a larger storehouse of facts. Bábar's Memoirs are eminently picturesque, but their chief merit is their revelation of his own personality. They do not add much to our historical knowledge, and there is reason to doubt whether the information they do contain is perfectly trustworthy. Bábar, with all his apparent frankness, was a thorough man of the world, and not above suppressing or distorting circumstances which might tell against himself. For instance, he has by no means told us the whole truth about his evacuation of Samarkand, and the marriage of his sister to Shaibání.

Mirzá Haidar's book is a painstaking attempt to rise above the level of gossiping Memoirs, and to present his readers with a trustworthy account of the Moguls of Central Asia for two centuries. It has the advantage, too, of being written in Persian, instead of in Turki, and contains passages of genuine eloquence. And though his career was less brilliant, and was enacted on a far less splendid theatre, it must be admitted that he underwent greater fatigues and encountered greater dangers than ever Bábar did, while saying less about them. None of Bábar's experiences, not even his crossing the Hindu Kush in winter on his march from Herat to Kabul, can compare with Haidar Mirzá's experiences among the frozen heights of Tibet. It has been justly remarked by Mr. Erskine that "the royal cousins are worthy of each other and do honour to their age." It would perhaps be invidious, and certainly it is not easy to determine which was the nobler character of the two. Haidar was, to all appearance, the more correct and moral man of the two, but then he was not born a king, nor exposed to so many temptations. We also know much less about him, for he

is far more reserved and reticent than Bábar. One thing, I think, we may say with certainty about him. He was a much straighter Muhammadan than his cousin. He never gave way to such backslidings as Bábar committed by associating, from political motives, with Shah Ismail and his heretical Persians. Nor does he appear ever to have yielded to drink or to unnatural lust, from neither of which vices was Bábar free. Nor are we shocked in his book by the mention of cold-blooded massacres of prisoners, or of the infliction of cruel punishments, such as impaling, flaying alive, and trampling a woman under the feet of an elephant, which we meet with in Bábar's Memoirs. On the whole, I should judge Haidar Mirzá to have been the higher and better character of the two cousins. He had none of Bábar's dash and engaging frankness, but he seems to have had more solid qualities, and, in particular, he was less vain. Instead of dwelling upon his successes, like Bábar, and comparing his achievements with those of his predecessors to their disadvantage, he simply says, when speaking of his great victory over the Kashmirians: "The battle was so desperate, that, should I enter into the particulars, the reader would imagine I was exaggerating." Perhaps we may sum up the characteristics of the two cousins by saying that Haidar seems to have been of the Teutonic type, while the brilliant and volatile Bábar reminds us of a Celt.

The following is a sketch of Mirzá Haidar's life:—

He was born, in Uratippae* apparently, a country east of Samarkand, in 1499—1500, and was thus about sixteen years younger than Bábar. His father was Muhammed Husain Khán of the Dughlát tribe, and his mother, Khub Nigár Khánim, was a daughter of Sultan Yunas (Jonas) Khán, and a younger sister of Bábar's mother. His misfortunes began early, for his mother died shortly † after his birth, p. 157, and in 1509 his father was put to death by Shaibání Khán, the Uzbek. He had many wanderings also during his infancy. Some three years after his birth, his father was driven from Uratippae by the invasion of Shaibání Khán, and the infant Haidar and his retinue were carried off by Khusrú Shah to Kundúz, where they were under restraint for about a year, pp. 166 and 191. Then he rejoined his father and went with him to Shahr-i-Sabz, *i. e.*,

* Mr. Ney Elias says, *Introd.* p. 9, that he was born in Tashkand (the ancient Shásh), but I gather from p. 154 that the birth took place in Uratippae where his father was Governor. It may, however, be that his mother did not accompany her husband to Uratippae. At p. 197 we are told that she died at Tashkand at a time when there was peace.

† Haidar, p. 193, describes himself as the third child of his father, and mentions two children who were younger than himself; but at least one of them was by another mother. In another place, p. 158, he speaks of his mother's dying while he was yet an infant at the breast.

the green city, *viz.*, Kash, the birthplace of Tamerlane. Thence he went with his father to Herat, and from there the whole family proceeded to Kábul, and put themselves under the protection of Bábar. The restless and intriguing spirit of his father did not permit him to remain there long. During a temporary absence of Bábar in Khorásán, he engaged in an intrigue against his benefactor, and narrowly escaped being put to death. Bábar, with the amiability which characterised both himself and his son Humayun, pardoned Muhammad Husain, but insisted on his leaving Kábul. "He had conducted himself," says Bábar, "in such a criminal and guilty way, and had been actively engaged in such mutinous and rebellious proceedings, that, had he been cut in pieces, or put to a painful death, he would only have met with his deserts. As we were in some degree of relationship to each other, he having sons and daughters by my mother's sister, Khub Nigár Khánim, I took that circumstance into consideration, and gave him his liberty, allowing him to set out for Khorásán. Yet this ungrateful, thankless man, this coward, who had been treated by me with such lenity, and whose life I had spared, entirely forgetful of this benefit, abused me and scandalised my conduct to Shaibák Khán. It was but a short time, however, before Shaibák Khán put him to death, and thus sufficiently avenged me." (Erskine's translation, 218). Haidar must have read this passage, for he quotes Bábar's Memoirs, pp. 173-174, and it is remarkable that, in his account of the transaction, he does not attempt to contradict Bábar's description, though, like a good son, he does his best to palliate his father's conduct. This he does by representing his father, p. 198, as an unwilling tool in the hands of the imperious Shah Begam, who claimed to be a descendant of Alexander the Great, and to belong to a family which had ruled Badakhshán for 3,000 years (p. 203). Possibly this excuse was true, and it seems to me somewhat harsh to speak of Haidar as "slurring over the episode." On the contrary, there is something touching in the mixture of frankness and deprecation with which he describes the affair. He does full justice to Bábar's magnanimity, saying that, as soon as his father was brought before him, Babar received him with his wonted courtesy, openly embraced him, made many kind inquiries and showed him marked affection. He then embraced Mirzá Khán in like manner, and displayed a hundred proofs of love and good feeling. Then he adds, with a sigh: "But, however much the Emperor might try to wear away the rust of shame with the polish of mildness and humanity, he was unable to wipe out the dimness of ignominy which had covered the mirror of their hopes." The charge of slurring over disagreeable episodes can, I think, be more

justly brought against Bábar than against Haidar, whom Erskine rightly describes as a man of truth. It is Bábar who, in describing his evacuation of Samarkand, speaks of his sister, Khánzáda Begam, as having accidentally fallen into Shaibání's hands, whereas the truth is, as Haidar, the author of the Shaibání Náma, and, most of all, Gulbadan, Bábar's own daughter, have revealed, that Bábar sacrificed her by making her over to Shaibání as the price of his own escape. It is Bábar, too, who has concealed his subservience to the Persians, and his adoption of Shia practices, who has extenuated his obligations to Khusru Shah, and who has probably not told the whole truth about the circumstances under which he came to invade India.

From Kábul, Muhammad Husain, accompanied apparently by his son, Haidar, went on to Kandahár, and from there to Fareh in Seistán, where he stayed for three months. According to his son, his idea was to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, but he was prevented by the insecurity of the roads. While at Fareh, Shaibání sent for him to Herat, and received him there with great hospitality. At this time Ubaid Ulla, Shaibání's brother's son, who was married to Haidar Mirzá's sister, Habíba Sunat Khánim, was going to Bokhara as ruler thereof, it being "his hereditary seat of government." He begged Muhammad Husain to allow him to take the child with him. This was granted, and for some time after this Haidar lived with his sister in Bokhára. Thither, too, his father came for a while, but was afterwards sent by Shaibání to Samarkand. From there he was summoned by Shaibání to Khorasán, but apparently he went there *via* Bokhára, and had a last interview with his son. Haidar gives, p. 208, a pathetic description of this meeting, and tells us the parting admonitions of his father, who, whatever faults he had, was a careful and affectionate parent. Speaking of his brother-in-law, Sultan Mahmud Khán, Haidar's maternal uncle, and of his determination to put himself into Shaibání's power, his father observed :—

"Certainly Sháhí Beg Khan will fill the cup of the Khán's hopes with the fatal wine of martyrdom, and whatever dregs remain he will cause me to drink. I now commit you to the care of God. Though your company would be dearer to me than my own life, I fear Sháhí Beg Khan (Shaibání) would not allow it, and I prefer the idea of your life being prolonged, even though it involve the bitterness of separation ; you must, therefore, bear my absence patiently. Patience is bitter ; but it has a sweet fruit. Remember that, when the father dies, the children are his heirs. You also have become an heir. If the bird of my life escape from the net of Sháhí Beg Khán's intentions against me, we shall have the joy of meeting again. I entrust you to the care of Maulavi Muhammad. Be careful to pay attention to all he may say to you, for he is my vicar (Khalífa). His father was my instructor and guide."

"Having thus," says the son, "threaded many pearls of good counsel upon the string of wisdom, and hung them on the attentive ear of my understanding, my father departed to go and wait on Sháhí Beg Khán, who was at that time besieging Kalát. (Kalát-i-Nádiri in Khorasán). To all outward appearance he received my father with friendship, and then allowed him to proceed to Herat. When he reached Herat, a person was sent after him (to put him to death)."

This was in 914 A. H., 1508-9. Having killed the father, Shaibání sent an emissary to Bokhára to put Mirzá Haidar to death. The order was brought to Ubaid Ulla, Haidar's brother-in-law, who fain would have saved him, but had no power to resist his relentless uncle. Mr. Ross's translation goes on to say that Ubaid Ulla actually handed over the child to Shaibání's emissary, with instructions to throw him into the Oxus. I suspect, however, that there is some confusion here, either in the text or in the translation. I think that all that the emissary could have told Ubaid Ulla was that the boy was to be conveyed to Khorasán, and that Ubaid Ulla only made him over for this purpose. I cannot believe that Ubaid Ulla, of whom Haidar Mírzá speaks in the highest terms, p. 283, saying that he was a true Musalman, &c., ever ordered his wife's young brother and his own guest to be murdered. And the context, p. 211, shows that all that was known at Bokhára was that the boy was to be taken to Khorasán. It would seem, too, that the emissary did not at first disclose the fact that Haidar's father had been killed. On the contrary, he seems to have represented himself as having been deputed by Muhammad Husain to bring his son, and actually staid some days in Bokhára to collect Muhammad Husain's property, alleging that the latter had said, "Bring my property along with my son." It was this delay that saved Haidar. His guardian, Maulána Muhammad, though faithful to his trust, yet was disposed, partly from want of spirit, and partly from belief in destiny, to accept what he regarded as inevitable, and to take the child to Khorasán. But before doing so he went to see a Bokhára saint known as Mautána Muhammad Qází. The saint asked the guardian how he had consented to let Muhammad Husain go to Khorasán, and how he was permitting the son to be taken there. "Verily," replied the guardian, with sanctimonious flinching from duty, "we are taking him, fully trusting in God's protection." The reply of the saint was admirable good sense,* and shows that Muhammadans can see through the glamour of fatalism. "The Holy prophet, when his life was threatened by the infidels of Mecca,

* Erskine I. p., 290, well says, "it was full of true piety and sound sense." It may be noted here that Erskine's translation, differing from Ross, makes the guardian's reply refer to his having suffered the father to go to Khorasán.

did not put his trust in standing still and being captured, but took to flight. Therefore, what you should now do is, trusting in God, to take the Mirzá and flee; and if danger or cause of fear presents itself, I am your security. You ought certainly to set out without delay." In telling the story afterwards, Maulána Muhammad used to say that these words of the saint had such an effect on him that he at once resolved to devote all his energies to carrying off the child and escaping with him. The story of how he effected this is told at p. 215, &c.

The first part of the plan was to hide the boy in the house of a friend in Bokhára, and at the same time make a show of flying from the place by night. Some of his father's servants went off on horseback with great affectation of secrecy, and the emissary's spies, thinking that they had the boy with them set out in pursuit, and never thought of searching in the town, where he was lying cocealed. After various adventures, the boy and his guardian reached Qila-i-Zafar, then the capital of Badakhshán. Here they were kindly received by Mirzá Khán, another cousin of Bábar. The date of their arrival is not precisely stated, but from pp. 226 and 227 it appears to have been in November, 1508. They stayed at Qila-i-Zafar for a year, and then went on to Kábul in accordance with an invitation from Bábar, who wrote that, as Badakhshán was exposed to the forays of the Uzbegs, Muhamad Husain's son was not safe there, and that his own mind could not be at rest so long as the boy remained there. They left accordingly in the middle of October, 1509; but so poorly were they provided, that they had only two horses among a party of sixteen, and consequently had so little baggage that Haidar had nothing to sleep upon at night. "Maulána Muhammad, who was a sort of father to the party, had nothing but one meagre shawl, such as is worn by the poorest men in Badakhshán. What the condition of the other was, may be surmised." Mirzá Khán, "he says, "was so badly off that, though he did his best, he was unable to procure a coloured garment for myself." One curious circumstance mentioned by Haidar as occurring about this time was his recovering the use of his arm, which had been broken and dislocated some months before by a fall from a donkey in the flight from Bokhára. He fell again at Badakhshán when out riding with Mirzá Khán, and was thrown to the ground on the injured arm. "As I struck the ground, I heard a sound in my bad elbow. The shock was so violent that I fainted. After a time I came to and found that Mirzá Khán was holding my head upon his knees." Afterwards it was found that this second fall had sent the bone back to its proper place,

so that in a short time he recovered the entire use of it. At Kábul, he was received by Bábar with all the effusiveness of his affectionate nature. Bábar sent for his young cousin and tenderly embraced him.

"When he let me go, he would no longer allow me to observe the formalities of respect, but made me sit down at his side. While we were thus seated, he said to me with great benevolence, your father and brother and all your relations have been made to drink the wine of martyrdom; but, thank God, you have come back to me again in safety. Do not grieve too much at their loss. For I will take their place, and whatever favour of affection you could have expected from them, that and more will I show you. With such promises and tenderness did he comfort me, so that the bitterness of orphanage and the poison of banishment were driven from my mind."

"Nor did Bábar forget the good Maulána, to whom Haidar was indebted for his preservation. He sent for him, honoured him with many kind speeches, and kept asking him the particulars of their story. Then he praised him highly, and rejoiced his soul with promises of favour.

Haidar's reflections on his wonderful escape from the clutches of Shaibáni are an interesting revelation of the pious feelings of a good man—for why should we use a restricted expression and say a good Muhammadan?"—

"How excellent a thing it is that the Almighty has power to check the violent and, if He so wills it, to restrain the hand of the cruel; so that, without His consent, the tyrant cannot touch a single hair of any man's head. In his glory, vanity and magnificence, see how many royal families Sháhi Beg Khan destroyed, and the number of princely houses he annihilated! In a short space of time, he scattered to the wind of annihilation many governors and officials, so that the dust of their existence formed towers* on the plains of non-existence, which reached up to the heavens, and from the mists of their sighs a frightful whirlwind arose in the deserts. This king, who could commit such atrocities and practise such violence, was resolved on my death, at a time when I had only just passed the half of my childhood, and did not know my right hand from my left, nor good from evil; nor had I the ability to use my strength—nay, I had not enough intelligence to execute my own wishes. I had become an orphan without father or mother; my paternal uncles were scattered and my maternal uncles slain. I had not even an elder brother who could share in my grief; no friend or relation to comfort me. That year, 914 (1508-9), proved one of disaster for the Sultans of the day in general, and of massacre for the Mogul Khakáns in particular. When God willed that all my uncles, aunts and cousins should be carried off in different directions, and murdered, I was the weakest and youngest of the family. The strangest part of it all is that they were, every one, at a great distance, but, being helpless, nay, having no alternative, they came and threw themselves into calamity and were murdered; while I escaped, though

* This is a metaphor taken from the sand storms so frequent in Central Asia. In Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," p. 278, there is a striking picture of towers of sand rising on a plain.

in the town of Bokhára, in the middle of the ocean of Sháhí Beg Khan's dominions. Since the decree of the will of the Almighty had not been issued for my destruction, but for my preservation, Sháhí Beg Khan, with all his boasting and power, was not able to touch one hair of the head of that helpless little child whom he wished to kill. Thanks be to God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Possessor of Might, Majesty and Power."

Bábar continued his kindness to his cousin during the whole of his stay with him, and Haidar expresses his gratitude in a very affectionate manner.

"How," he says, "can I ever show sufficient thankfulness? I passed a long time in the service of the Emperor, in perfect happiness and freedom from care; and he was for ever, either by promises of kindness, or by threats of severity, encouraging me to study. If he ever noticed any little virtue or new acquisition, he would praise it in the highest terms, commend it to everybody, and invite their approbation. All that time, the Emperor showed me such affection and kindness as a fond father shows his son and heir. It was a hard day for me when I lost my father, but the bitterness of my desolation became scarcely perceptible, owing to the blessed favours of the Emperor. From this time to the year 918 (1512) I remained in his service. Whenever he rode out, I had the honour of riding at his side, and when he received friends, I was sure to be among the invited. In fact, he never let me be separated from him. When I was studying, for example, directly my lesson was over, he would send some one to fetch me. And in this fatherly manner did he continue to treat me till the end." (p. 230).

Haidar remained with Bábar for about three years, *viz.*, from Rajab, 915, to Rajab, 918, or November, 1509, to September, 1512. During this time he accompanied Bábar on his expedition to Kanduz against the Uzbeks. Bábar had wished to spare the boy the fatigues of this march, which took place in the winter, time, (December 1510), but Haidar begged so hard not to be left behind that Bábar yielded and allowed him to come. Haidar was with Bábar when he conquered Samarkand for the third time, *viz.*, in October 1511. But he was not present at the battle of Kul Malik in the spring of 1512, in which Bábar was defeated by Ubaid Ulla. Haidar was left behind then in Samarkand, as he had been attacked with fever, but when Bábar returned discomfited, Haidar accompanied him in his retreat to Hissar (Hisár-i-Shádmán). But this was the last time that the cousins were together. Bábar, having been joined by his Persian auxiliaries under Mir Najim, went off to the westward to Karshi and Bokhára, and to the disastrous battle of Ghajdván (November, 1512), where he was completely defeated by Ubaid Ulla and the Uzbeks, and obliged to return to Hissar, and eventually to give up all hope of maintaining himself in Central Asia. Haidar, on the other hand, went off from Hissar to his uncle, Saiyid Muhammad Mirzá, and to Sultan Sa'id Khán, both of whom were at Andján in Ferghána. Sultan Sa'id, whom Haidar generally designates as

the Khán, had a great affection for Haidar, and when he was sent by Bábar to Andíján, he tried to induce Bábar to allow Haidar to accompany him. Haidar, too, was anxious to go there, but when he asked leave of Bábar, "his blessed heart became heavy, and he put all such ideas on one side." The Khán, however, renewed his request, and at last Bábar, displeased and irritated, gave Haidar leave to go. "In my childish folly," says Haidar, "I did not pay attention to the Emperor's consent but went." Probably Haidar was actuated by several motives. Neither he nor other good Musalmans liked the way in which Bábar was consorting with the heretical Persians, adopting their dress, &c. "The hopes of the people of Samarkand," he says, p. 246, "was not realised, and the people of Transoxiana ceased to feel the intense longing for the Emperor which they had entertained while he was absent." Then Haidar's grand-uncle, Saiyid Muhammad, and also his own sister, with whom he had lived at Bokhára, were now at Andijan. She had been Ubaid Ulla's wife; but, when her husband fled from Karshí her uncle took her to Andíján, and gave her in marriage to Sultan Sa'íd Khán. But, perhaps, the predominant motive was a hope of becoming married to Sultan Sa'íd's sister, Muhibb Sultan Khánim. Apparently she had by this time become a widow for the second time, p. 280. It was not without some difficulty that he obtained her hand, and at p. 278 we are told that one of the marvellous feats of Maulána Muhammad Qazi was his foretelling that the union would be brought about in spite of the opposition of the Amirs. The marriage took place in Rajab, 919, September, 1513; and Haidar was thus raised, like his father, to the rank of Gurgán (son-in-law.)

This departure from Hissar and separation from Bábar was no doubt the turning point in Haidar's career. It was the parting of the ways, for the cousins never met again. From henceforth the streams of their lives flowed in different directions, Central Asia being their watershed, as it is for the Oxus and the Indus. Bábar went south to Kábul and Hindustan, and Haidar north and east to Ferghána, Káshghar and Tibet, only visiting the plains of India in middle age and after Bábar's death.

The incident of their leave-taking may, therefore, recal to us Wordsworth's verses on the parting of two brothers in Darley Dale, and all the more because Eastern cousins often call one another brothers.

"Eager to fulfil

Their courses, like two new-born rivers, they
In opposite directions urged their way,
Nev'r again

Embraced those brothers upon earth's wide plain,
 Nor aught of mutual joy or sorrow knew,
 Until their spirits mingled in the sea
 That to itself takes all, Eternity."

It would seem from Haidar's words that he afterwards came to regret his decision to go to Ferghána. Had he remained with his cousin, he would probably have been a happier, and a more distinguished man. His virtues would have been a support, and complement to Bábar, and he might have saved the latter from the debaucheries which hastened his end. Yet it cannot be said that Haidar's subsequent career was unfortunate, and it is probable that, if he had not spent most of his days in Central Asia, we should not have had his history of the Moguls. He remained in the service of Sultan Sa'id—who was doubly his brother-in-law—for one and twenty years (September 1512-July 1533), that is, until Sa'id Khan's death. During all this time he met with much favour at the Khán's hands:—

"Living a life of luxury and splendour, and acquiring, under his instruction and guidance, many accomplishments and much learning. In the arts of calligraphy, reading, making verses, epistolary style, painting and illuminating, I became not only distinguished, but a passed master. Likewise in such crafts as seal-engraving, jeweller's and goldsmith's work, saddlery and armour-making; also in the construction of arrows, spear heads and knives, gilding and many other things which it would take too long to enumerate; in all of these the masters of each could teach me no more. And this was the outcome of the care and attention of the Khán. Then, again, in the affairs of the State, in important transactions, in planning campaigns and forays (Kazákí), in archery, in hunting, in the training of falcons, and in everything that is useful in the government of a kingdom, the Khán was my instructor and patron. Indeed, in most of the above-mentioned pursuits and studies, he was my only instructor."

Haidar did not remain long in peace in Ferghána for, in May, 1514, or about nine months after his marriage, the Khan and all the Moguls found it necessary to evacuate the country from fear of the Uzbeks. This was the result of a general council of the nobles, at which it was decided that as Ferghána was the ancient home of the Chaghatais, and as they, *i.e.*, Bábar and his family, had abandoned the country, it was useless for the Khán to try and preserve it for them. The plan which they now adopted was to proceed to Káshghar, and take it from Abu Bakr who had tyrannised over it for many years. Though Mir Abu Bakr was Haidar's grand-uncle, being brother of Saiyid Muhammad, his conduct had been so bad that Saiyid Muhammad had no scruple in proposing war against him. In describing the expedition against him, Haidar takes the opportunity of giving a list of the leaders. Among them he mentions himself, p. 306, but modestly says: "The dawn of childhood had not yet

changed to the morning of youth, nor was my intelligence yet fully developed. I was but fifteen years of age. Although the Khán had honoured me with the title of Gurgan, yet on account of my youth and immaturity, both physical and mental, I was not able to participate fully in that dignity. I, however, carried out as much as was possible. The retainers and followers of my father, as many as had remained behind, supported and aided me nobly in every way, so that, in spite of the general scarcity of attendants upon the Moguls, one hundred and twenty persons were entered in my name." On the same page we have an amusing description of another chief, Mírzá Ali Taghái, for whom Haidar seems to have had a special aversion. He tells us that "the wiles this man could devise after a moment's reflection, could not have been invented by a cunning Delilah after years of deep thought." The expedition was successful, and in the end of Rajab. 920, (October, 1514), the Khán made a triumphal entry in to the town of Yarkand.

This success was followed, according to Haidar, by a universal dissolution of morals among the people. "The Khán," he says, "brought the country into such good order that the doors of pleasure and the gates of security were opened to high and low alike. The people gave themselves up to wine and song and dancing, and the Khán and his courtiers turned night into day, and day into night in draining the wine cups. This state of things went on for about eight years, when the Khán, being then 37 years of age, repented and forswore wine-bibbing." The account of his conversion is given at p. 369, and is an interesting record. Evidently the Khán got a "conviction for sin." He devoted himself much to the study of Sufi books, and went so far in his zeal as to wish to abdicate the throne and become a darwesh. He was dissuaded by a grandson of the famous saint, Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaid Ulla. This man, though a darwesh himself, had the good sense to advise the Khán against being righteous over much. His words to the Khán, when the latter explained his desire of becoming a darwesh, are worth quoting, and may remind us of the practical exhortations of Augustin to Raphael and Victoria in Kingsley's Hypatia.

"Much has been said," he remarked, "by wise men on this subject; such as, 'Remain on the throne of your kingdom, and be like an austere darwesh in your ways!' And again; 'Set the crown on your head, and science on your back:' 'Use effort in your work, and wear what you will:' 'In reality sovereignty is one of the closest walks with God, but kings have abused its rights.' 'A king is able, with one word, to give a higher reward than can a darwesh (however intent upon his purpose) during the whole of a long life.' In this respect sovereignty is a real and practical state. But I will show you one line that my

father, Khwaja Muhammad Abdulla, wrote for me. And he gave the writing to the Khan. It was written 'The most important conditions for a seeker of union with God, are, little food, few words, and few associates.' This brief sermon sufficed to compose the Khan, and he resolved to pursue the road of justice and good deeds."

The Khan continued to rule Káshghar for about ten years after his conversion, and then, in August, 1532, set out to invade Tibet. We are told that his motive was to carry on a holy war; but it is likely that, as in the case of the crusaders, love of adventure and the hope of plunder were the predominant inducements. "The Holy War," says Haidar, "is the main support and fortifier of Islam, the most efficient groundwork for the foundations of the Faith." He himself took part in the expedition, but went by a different route from the Khán. He also diverged into Kashmír, and succeeded in entering the capital, and in being supreme in the valley for a time. The *Khutba* was read, and coins were struck in the name of the Khán; but Haidar's followers compelled him to relinquish his conquest and to return to Káshghar. They were wild and barbarous Moguls, and they found Kashmír too much of a Troll's garden to suit them. They are represented as saying,—

"We are Moguls, and have been continually occupied with the affairs of Mogulistan. The natural solace and joy of the Mogul is the desert, on which there is no cultivation. The screeching of the owl in the wilderness is sweeter to our ear than the song of the nightingale in the grove. We have never made cultivated land our home. Our companions have been the ravenous beasts of the mountain, and our associates the wild boars of the desert.... How can men of our race associate with this besotted band of infidels of Kashmir, which is the garden of Arám,* nay more, a specimen of paradise."

In his bitterness, Haidar compares them to the sweeper who fainted amidst the fragrance of a perfumer's shop, but was revived by having excrement put to his nose. This, perhaps, was another instance of Haidar's taking the wrong path, and neglecting a great opportunity. He himself thought so, and says that he disregarded the dictates of wisdom, and that his action caused him much suffering. His proper course, he thinks, was to have quelled the mutiny by putting to death the ringleader, Mirza Ali Tagháí, whom he calls an execrable devil, and a Shaikh of Satans. The mistake is one that Haidar's cousin, the Emperor Bábar, was not likely to have committed, and the very different way in which he dealt with the officers who wanted him to abandon his conquest of Hindustan shows perhaps the mental superiority of Bábar over his cousin. Bábar has recorded his contempt for the man who abandons the path of glory (Erskine's translation, 201); and it is the crowning distinction of his life that he did not give

* The earthly Paradise constructed by Shadádd.

way, like other conquerors, to his followers, but held his ground and established a dynasty. It is true, it may be urged, that Haidar was not supreme, like Bábar, and was only the Khán's general. But, on the other hand, it seems from his own account that the Khan was prepared to support him in opposing Ali Taghái, and that he, in a manner, acted against orders in retiring. Perhaps Haidar's withdrawal did honour to his heart, if not to his head, and he was restrained by scruples which other conquerors would have disregarded. It seems that he could only have remained by putting Mirza Ali Taghai to death, and that he shrank from bloodshed. As he said to Daim Ali, his counsellor, "to kill Mirza Ali Taghái would not be acting like a good Musalman." The conquest took place in December, 1532, or January, 1533, and the withdrawal about five months afterwards. Before leaving, Haidar made peace with the Kashmiris, for which "they were very thankful, but they did not credit our good faith, wondering how people who had once conquered such a beautiful country could be so senseless as to give it up."

Haidar brought, back with him from Kashmir, and presented to the Khán, some gold and silver coins* which had been struck in his name. The Khán received him with great affection and remarked that, by conquering Kashmír, he had accomplished a feat that had not been performed by any of the victorious Khákáns from Chingiz Khán downwards, and that he had earned the gratitude of the Mogul race.

The Khán was very desirous of conducting a holy war in person, but found that he suffered from breathlessness or asphyxia (*damgírf*, *dyspnæa*) at high altitudes, and that he must relinquish the hope of penetrating to Lhasa (Ursang). He therefore deputed Haidar to march there, and himself set out on his return from Máryul in Tibet to Yarkand. But he had not strength to bear the journey, and died of *damgiri*, on 9th July, 1533, in one of the Tibetan passes. Haidar gives him a very high character, ending with these words:—

"I was 24 (qy. 21, *viz.*, from 918-39) years in his service. I do not remember ever having heard him use abusive or obscene language to an inferior. If any of the slaves in his attendance committed an offence worthy of punishment or reproof, he would frown, but keep his temper and say very little. If he did speak and wished to use abusive language, he never went beyond calling any one "unclean" or "carion," and if he spoke in Turki, he said much the same."

The Khán's death brought Haidar's connection with Káshghar to an end. Rashíd Sultan, the Khán's son, disliked Haidar, put his grand-uncle, Saiyid Muhammad Mirzá to death, and banished Haidar's wife, Rashíd's own aunt, to Badakhshán,

* It would be interesting to know if any numismatist has found these.

p. 467. One reason for this conduct was that some of the Khán's officers sent Rashíd a paper which they declared to be his father's last will and testament, and in which he stated that he had never wanted to make a holy war in Tibet ; that it was Saiyid Muhammad and Mírza Haidar who had forced him to undertake it, and that he wished his son to put them to death in retaliation for their having brought about his end. Haidar says, p. 449, that the paper was a forgery ; but it is not improbable that the Khán had dictated something of the kind in his last moments. It is likely enough that Haidar and his uncle—who were both somewhat bigoted Muhammadans—had urged on the Khan to the holy war, and that, when the latter saw the bad effects of it on himself, he felt bitter against his advisers and even wished to be avenged on them. In spite of Haidar's eulogiums on his patron, he was probably a weak-minded and unstable man, whose strength and moral fibre had been undermined by long years of debauchery. The expedition was certainly not a fit undertaking for a man on the verge of fifty, who had ruined his constitution by hard drinking ; and he must have felt afterwards that he had made a mistake in going to Tibet. Haidar was in Tibet at the time when Rashíd killed his uncle, &c. He remained there for some time, enduring great hardships, and failing in his attempt to reach Lhassa. Eventually he crossed over from Tibet into Badakhshán. His force was, by this time, reduced to 27 men, and shortly afterwards it became 22. They encountered terrible hardships on the way, suffering from cold and hunger, and losing most of their horses from lock-jaw. He spent the winter in Badakhshan, where Sulaimán Shah, the son of Mirzá Khán, was ruling, and then, in the summer time, he went to Kabul. Afterwards he went to India and joined Kámrán, the son of Bábar, at Lahore. Here he was well treated, and when Kámrán went to Kandahar, to recover it from the Persians, he left Haidar in charge of Lahore. When he returned, he was so pleased with Haidar's administration that he raised his salary from fifteen to fifty lakhs. He does not tell us what these lakhs consisted of ; but apparently they were of some copper coin worth about two pence, for he says that a lakh of Hindustan is worth 20,000 Sharukhís *i.e.*, francs or tenpences. There is a learned discussion on this subject in Erskine's History I., App. E., p. 544. Haidar afterwards joined Humayun, and was with him at the battle of Kanauj in May, 1540. The result of this battle was that Humayun fled to Agra and Lahore, and eventually left India, while Haidar, with a small force, achieved for the second time, the conquest of Kashmír. This was the great exploit of Haidar's life, for it was the only one which had prolonged

consequences. The battle which gave him final possession of the country occurred on 2nd August, 1541, but his entry into the valley occurred in November of the previous year.*

Unfortunately, Haidar tells us very little about his administration of the country. As Mr. Elias observes: "It is curious how little our author relates about his invasion and administration of Kashmir, or of the affairs of that country during the eleven years that his regency lasted."† Mr. Elias has, therefore, had to supplement his narrative by the accounts of Abul Fazl and Ferishta. Abul Fazl's account is to be found at pp. 196-199 of the first volume of the Akbarnáma, Bibliotheca Indica edition, and is characterised by his usual faults of pomposity and verbiage. Abul Fazl is a valuable writer, but he is sadly deficient in the art of picturesque narrative. Indeed, he seems to have quite a knack of missing out what one wants to know. His account of Bábar, for instance, is quite remarkable for the way in which he can spoil a story. He had an admirable model before him in Bábar's Memoirs, and he has used them freely, but he has done his best to turn a crisp narrative into pulp. Instead of "squeezing out the whey" he has laboriously bottled it, and thrown away the curd. He has done the same thing with the *Tárikh-i-Rashídí*. It is not, as Mr. Elias supposes, p. 23, that he makes no mention of Haidar's work. He refers to it, for instance, at p. 115 of the Akbarnáma, vol. I, and he often borrows from it without direct acknowledgment, but he makes infelicitous use of it. Mr. Elias has depended upon Price for his abstract of Abul Fazl, and consequently has fallen into some errors. Among them is the statement that Abul Fazl censures Haidar for devoting too much time to music.‡ I do not think that Abul Fazl means to charge this as a fault. It is rather mentioned as a prominent feature of the civilization which Haidar introduced into Kashmir. Abul Fazl did not disapprove of music. His father was fond of it, and he devotes an *Ain*, Blochmann 611, to praise of the art. Indeed, he could hardly speak ill of a pursuit in which, according to his account, Akbar was such a proficient. Akbar, he

* The date of the conquest given by Abul Fazl is 22 Rajab, 947, or 22nd November, 1540.

† It should be borne in mind, however, that his book was finished when he had ruled only for five years, and also that he has devoted some chapters to an account of Kashmir in the narrative of his first conquest of that country.

‡ Mr. Elias, p. 147, calls attention to the apparent contradiction between Abul Fazl's account of Haidar's devotion to music, and the latter's own statement that he was unable, from ignorance of the art, to speak of Rashíd Khan's skill. But Haidar may, like Abul Fazl's father, have acquired a taste for music late in life. Moreover, the passage at p. 139 shows that he could criticise musical performances.

tells us, had more knowledge of music than even trained musicians possessed, and composed upwards of 200 airs. What he chiefly blames Haidar for is narrow-minded bigotry, and Haidar's own account shows that this was a charge which could justly be brought against him. See the chapter, p. 434, 'On the religious sects of Kashmír', where he attacks the Sufis, and thanks God that under his rule no one dares openly profess their faith, knowing that he would put them to death if they did so. He also, in this chapter, inveighs against the Shamásis or sun-worshippers, whom, no doubt, Abul Fazl admired. In the *Ain*, Jarrett, II., 352, the latter speaks of the Sunnis of Kashmír, of whom Haidar was one, as "narrow-minded conservatives of blind tradition." Col. Jarrett has here an interesting note on Haidar. It is true that Abul Fazl goes on to speak of Haidar's transgressing the laws of justice, and coming under subjection to his lusts, and giving up prudence and endurance. But though, as usual, his meaning is not clear, it does not appear that he connects these things with Haidar's study of music. It would not, however, be surprising if Haidar, at the end of his career and when over fifty years of age, and in the enjoyment of the purple and of the enchanting valley of Kashmír, lost some of his ancient energy. He himself has told us what effect the conquest of Káshghar had on his patron, Sa'id Khan, and on the whole Mogul people. But the last act of Haidar's life, at least, does not show any signs of waning activity. To undertake a nocturnal attack, marching five miles against the enemy's camp, and to be so far in advance of his followers as to be killed by one of their arrows might be rash, but certainly does not indicate sloth. The gist of Abul Fazl's statements about the cause of Haidar's downfall is that the Kashmirians were, as usual, treacherous and rebellious, and that Haidar was not sufficiently on the alert against their wiles. One of their most successful stratagems, he says, was inducing Haidar to disperse his army, sending some troops to Tibet, some to Paklî, and some to Rajorî, *i.e.*, North, West and South.

Mr. Elias has, in an Appendix, an extract from a valuable paper by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, but justly observes that some of the particulars are not quite intelligible. Mr. Rodgers' information is derived from Ferishta's special chapter 'On the Kings of Kashmír,' which forms one of the supplements to his general history, and so has not been translated by General Briggs. But Ferishta here is merely a transcript of the *Tabaqât Akbari* of Nizamuddin, and the unintelligibility is partly due to want of clearness and clerical errors in Ferishta and his source, and partly, I venture to think, to errors in Mr. Rodgers' translation. The proper names in the texts are uncertain, and Nizamuddin's loose and inconsecutive way of

writing has led to misapprehensions of his meaning. The essential facts seem to be as follows : Haidar and his Mogul followers were, from the first, unpopular with the Kashmiri nobles. A faction among them were glad enough to get Haidar's help against their rivals, but, as soon as he had done their work, they tried to get rid of him. When, then, he proceeded to establish himself in the valley, the nobles endeavoured to oust him by getting help from Sher Shah, and afterwards from his son Islam Shah. Haidar, however, partly by force, and partly by exchange of presents, contrived to settle matters with Sher Shah and his son, and had rest for some time, during which he endeavoured to improve the country. The feeling of dislike of the foreigner still prevailed, however, and fresh intrigues arose which Haidar did not see through, or did not encounter with adequate vigour. In fact, he trusted neither the Kashmiris nor his own Moguls, and, when the latter told him of Kashmiri plots, he merely said with flippancy that the Moguls were no whit inferior to the Kashmiris in intrigue and disaffection. This dislike and contempt for the Mogul, or Mongolian race, comes out strongly both in Bábar and Haidar. Though Mogul blood ran in their veins, they evidently felt towards them much as Eurasians do towards Bengalis. Both Bábar and Haidar regarded themselves as Turks, or Chaghatais ; and if, not to speak of their paternal ancestors, they had been questioned whether their maternal grandfather, Junas Khan, was not a Mogul, they would probably have answered that the taint had been removed by his orthodoxy, and by the many years which he had spent at Yezd in Persia under the tuition of Sharaf-uddin. But to return : Haidar had a second cousin,* named Qara Bahadur, who was one of his generals, and who afterwards served under Akbar, and made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Kashmír. Haidar sent this man on an expedition to Bhinpul, which is probably, as Mr. Elias thinks, a mistake for Bhimbar to the south of Kashmír. They had got no further than Baramula when the Kashmirians began to mutiny. Qara Bahadur reported the circumstance ; but, as we have seen, Haidar's only reply was that the Kashmirians were no worse than the Moguls. Then Husain Mákari, a Kashmirian, sent his brother to Haidar, giving the Kashmiri side of the quarrel, and begging him to recal the expedition. But Haidar was equally indifferent to this representation. Then, on 27 Ramzán, 958 (28th September, 1551), a great fire took place in Indrakote,

* Blochmann, 460, calls him Haidar's cousin, but he really was the son of Haidar's cousin, Mahmúd Mírza, whose singular death from the kick of his horse is recorded at p. 462. See his biography in the *Maasir-ul-Umara*, III, 48. It may be noted that this biography begins with a notice of Haidar, and contains a quatrain by him,

(apparently the fort, or cantonment, of Srinagar), and Qara Bahadur and the troops sent a request to Haidar to put off the expedition to Bhimbar for a year, and to allow them to return and rebuild their houses. But Haidar would not hear of this, and the troops had to go on. When they got to Bhimbar, the Kashmirians in the force deserted at night, and, joining with the country people, fell upon the Moguls and killed eighty of them, and captured their leaders. The rest fled by Púñch to Bahrámghala.* This outbreak roused Haidar to energetic action. He appointed new generals, melted down his plate and converted it into coin, turned artizans into soldiers, and marched out from Indrakote. His force consisted of 1700 men, of whom 700 were Moguls, and he encamped it on the plain of Khálidgarh, or Khalagarh, near Srinagar. Meanwhile, the insurrection continued to spread, and Fattah Chak, a Kashmiri noble who had the death of his father to avenge, came with 3,000 men and entered Indrakote.† There he burnt Haidar's palace in the Bagh-i-Safa, a proceeding which seems to have called forth from Haidar the philosophical remark that, as he had not brought the palace from Káshghar, he could, by God's help, reconstruct it. Or, perhaps, what he said was that, as it had not been built by him, he need not take the trouble to rebuild it. In retaliation for Fattah Chak's act, an officer of Haidar burnt the palace of Zainal Abadín, a famous king of Kashmír, but Haidar did not approve of this. Probably it was the palace called the Rájdán, described by Haidar at p. 429, which was wholly made of wood. Haidar classes it among the wonders of Kashmír, and no doubt was vexed at its destruction. However, he retaliated in another way, by burning the houses in Srinagar of Id Ríná and another factious noble. Then he moved his camp to Khánpur. Here Nizámuddin takes occasion to mention that in this village there is a *Khabázi* ‡ tree which could shelter 200 men on horseback, and also had this peculiarity, that when a single branch was shaken, the whole tree was set in motion. Nizámuddin says that, when he went to Kashmír with Akbar, he tried the experiment and found that the fact was so; and I may be excused for mentioning that the málí of the public gardens in Bhagalpur showed me the same phenomenon in the

* Tieffenthaler says that the proper name of this place is Parmgola.

† Indrakul, which is a place in Kashmir, (Jarrett II., 370), is more likely here, for Indrakote was not taken till after Haidar's death. Perhaps, however, all that is meant is that Fattah Chak plundered the environs.

‡ This is an Arabic word and means, according to Lane, a willow, and also a plant of the leguminous kind, having broad leaves and a round fruit. The word is connected with *Khabaz*, bread. Can it be a bread-fruit tree, *i.e.*, a jack, or species thereof, or the Baobáb, which is also called monkey-bread

case of a large tree there, which was a baobáb or *Adansonia digitata*. He struck a branch high up on the tree with a bamboo pole, and all the other branches shook. Ferishta calls the tree a willow (*bíd*), which can hardly be correct, and suppresses Nizámuddin's experience. Perhaps this is the very tree mentioned by Haidar among the Wonders of Kashmír, p. 428. "In Nágám, a notable town of Kashmír there is a tree which is so high that, if an arrow be shot at the top, it will probably not reach it. If any one takes hold of one of the twigs and shakes it, the whole of this enormous tree is put in motion." If so, Khánpur is a mistake or is another name for Nágám which, Mr. Elias states, is a village one short march south of Srinagar.

The Kashmirians retired from Khánpur—apparently on Haidar's advance—and encamped at Arabpur (?), five miles off. Haidar determined to make a night attack on them, but, as if aware of the risk, he first appointed his brother's son, Abdur Rahman, his heir, and made his followers swear allegiance to him. The night was dark and cloudy, and, when they got near the tent of Khwája Háji,* who was the soul of the insurrection, and had been Haidar's Vakil, it was impossible to see anything. Shah Nazar Qúrchí (perhaps the man mentioned at p. 247 of the T. R.), drew a bow at a venture, and immediately afterwards he heard the Mirzá's voice saying you have wounded† (me) with an arrow. In the morning the Kashmirians discovered that a Mogul was lying dead in their camp, and Khwája Háji recognised the body as Haidar's. He raised the head, and Haidar opened his eyes once and then expired. Nizámuddin adds the interesting detail that his death was much lamented by the people. The Kashmirians gave the body burial, and pursued the Moguls to Indrakote, whither they had fled. They defended themselves there for four days, the artillerist, Muhammad Rashi,‡ loading his guns with copper coins. Then, on the suggestion of Khánim, the widow, and of her sister, the Moguls made terms and surrendered. The exact date of Haidar's death has not been mentioned, but was apparently not long after 27 Ramzán, 958, the date of the fire in Indrakote, and the last date mentioned, and so probably occurred some time in October, 1551. Nor is the

* Apparently the man who joined Haidar in Tibet, and who was instrumental in promoting Haidar's second expedition to Kashmír, pp. 460 and 482.

† The translation is doubtful and the words are given differently in Ferishta. The expression in Nizamuddin is *Saheb tulídi*. Perhaps the meaning is You have wounded your master.

‡ He was with Haidar at the battle of Kanauj, T. R. 475.

exact place of occurrence known, but seemingly it was near Srinagar. According to Abul Fazl it was near Khánpur which is between Hírápur* and Srinagar. Both Khánpur and Hírápur are mentioned in the itineraries given by Tieffenthaler, and Khánpur is stated by him to be five miles from Kashmír, *i.e.*, Srinagar. Abul Fazl, while mentioning the story that Haidar was accidentally killed by an arrow, seems to prefer another version, according to which the night attack, or ambush, was made by the Kashmirians. Haidar had gone to release his relative and officer, Qara Bahadur, when he was assassinated near his minister's tent by one Kássáb Dúbí.

Apparently Haidar left no children. If there had been a son, he probably would not have made his nephew his heir. We also find, p. 340, that, Haidar having no son, some years after his marriage, the Khán made over to him his own son, Iskandar. Iskandar served with Haidar in Tibet, and accompanied Haidar's wife to Badakhshán, when she was driven out of Káshghar by her nephew. Nizámuddin and his copyist, Ferish-ta, make Abdur Rahmán the brother of Haidar, but this seems to be a clerical error. Haidar had a younger brother, called Abdullá Mirzá, but he was killed in Tibet, 455. Abdur Rahmán became an officer under Akbar, and is mentioned in the Ain, Blochmann, p. 464, as Haidar's brother's son. The widow mentioned as proposing peace with the Kashmirians was probably the Khan's sister, Muhibb Sultan Khánim.

Haidar's end reminds us of that of Charles XII, and, perhaps, his companions uttered some sentiment like the "*Voilà la pièce finie*," mentioned by Voltaire, or they may have said with Manoa,

"Come, come, no time for lamentation now,
Nor much more cause, Haidar hath quit himself
Like Haidar, and heroically hath finished
A life heroic."

It cannot be asserted that he died immaturally. He had seen his best days, had written his book, and ruled Kashmír for ten years. If in that space he had not accomplished reforms and made himself acceptable to the people, it was time that he should give place to another.

One great fault charged upon Haidar by Abul Fazl is that he ruled Kashmír in the name of Názak Shah, and not in that of Humayun. He concedes, however, that this may have been induced by policy and not disloyalty, and in the Ain, Jarrett II, 390, he appears to praise Haidar for the very same

* Tieffenthaler I., 89, gives the distance between Hírápur and Srinagar as 12 miles, and that between Hírápur and Khanpur as 7. Khanpur Sarai is a halting place on the road to Srinagar from India. See Mr. Growse's article in this Review, LIV., p. 28, for January 1872.

conduct for which he blames him in the Akbarnáma. But the translation is, perhaps, hardly in accord with the original (I. 584, Bib. Ind. ed.). What the Persian says apparently is that Haidar effected a compromise. He gained over the Kashmirians by mildness and friendship, so that while *they* read the *Khutba* in the name of Názak Shah, *he* read it in the name of Humayun, and struck coins in his name. Haidar's own account, p. 434, is "that he showed due reverence to the titular king," and he not unjustly takes credit to himself for his considerate behaviour." "To Sultan Názak, who is to-day my companion, I have shown far more respect than the former administrators of the kingdom ever showed." At the time Haidar was writing his Memoirs, he did not even know whether Humayun was still alive. He had gone to Persia, he says p. 484, and "at the present time it is not known what has become of him." It seems rather absurd to blame Haidar for not proclaiming Humayun under such circumstances. When the latter emerged from obscurity in 1545, Haidar hastened to acknowledge him, though Humayun was still an exile from India.

I have entered into such detail about the life of Haidar, because his Memoirs are excessively rambling and confused. Worse than all his repetitions, is his habit of breaking off in his narration every now and then to give the biography of some saint or sovereign whose name rises up before him. The Index to the translation is, I regret to say, not exhaustive, for many references are wanting. Mr. Elias has, in his valuable Introduction, devoted a chapter to "The Author and his Book," in which he has given a succinct and consecutive sketch of Haidar's life. Mine differs from his chiefly in entering more into detail, and in giving extracts from the book.

In sketching Haidar's life, I have necessarily analysed his Memoirs, which form the largest part of his book. It remains to say a few words about the first part, or the history proper. This begins with the history of Tughlaq Tímur, who reigned over Mogulistan and Transoxiana from 1347-1362. Haidar gives two reasons for not starting from an earlier period. One is that Sharáf-ud-din has treated of the earlier times, and that, therefore, to do it again would be like digging a well on the margin of the Euphrates. Another is that Tughlaq Tímur was the first of the Mogul princes who was fully converted to Muhammadanism, and that in his reign the body of the people became Musalmans. Some of his predecessors, he says, had become Musalmans, but neither they, nor their people, attained to a knowledge of the Rashd, or True Road to Salvation; "their natures remained base, and they continued on the Road that leads to Hell." The reference to Sharáf-ud-din is, of course, not to the Zafarnáma, but to the Prolegomena. Unfortunately

the latter are only to be found in a few of the manuscripts of the *Zafarnáma*, and have not yet been printed.

The mention of the Rashd is one clue to the title *Tárikhí-i-Rashídí*, others being that one Maulána Arshad converted Tughlaq to Islam, and that Abdur Rashíd was the name of the son and successor of the Khán who was so long Haidar's patron.

The book opens with a striking story, told more in detail at p. 13, of how Tughlaq came to accept the Muhammadan faith. Then comes a very picturesque story of how Tughlaq was discovered by Haidar's ancestor, Amir Bulájí, after his mother had been sent away by the chief wife of his father, who felt towards her as Sarah did to Hagar. The most interesting character described in this Part is Yunas Khán, the maternal grandfather of Bábar and Haidar. Haidar declares that there never was, either before or after, so wise a Khán as he. He had a good education, and must have been of abstemious habits for he was the only Chaghatai Khákán who attained to a good old age. He died at 74 whereas, says Haidar, most of the Chaghatai princes died before they were forty. His wife, Isan Daulat, the grandmother of Bábar and Haidar, was worthy of him and of them. When her husband was captured by Jamal Khán, another bridegroom was forced upon her. But she and her maidens slew him on the wedding-night, and, when called to account, she haughtily replied: "I am the wife of Sultan Yunas Khán; Shaikh Jamal gave me to some one else. This is not allowed by the Muhammadan law, so I killed him, and Shaikh Jamal may now kill me if he likes," (p. 94). Shaikh Jamal commended her spirit and restored her to Yunas. A year afterwards one Abdul Qadas killed Jamal Khán, and set Yunas at liberty, after sending him Jamal's head. This event was celebrated by the chronogram 'Sar-i-khar girifta Abdul Qadas,' *i. e.*, Abdul Qadas took the head of the ass (khar). The point of this chronogram, which a reviewer in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* has found unintelligible, is that Sar-i-Khar, or ass's head, may also be translated as the head, or first letter, of the word khar, *i. e.*, the letter *khá*, and the numerical value of this letter (601) plus the values (276) of the letters of the name Abdul Qadas give the date of the event, *viz.*, 877, or 1472-73.

In conclusion, I have to express my regret that Mr. Ross's excellent translation is not complete. He has missed out some of the rhetorical passages, the lives of saints, &c., and consequently the book has a somewhat mutilated appearance. In some instances, Mr. Erskine's manuscript translation in the British Museum is fuller than Mr. Ross's. I hope that these defects will be remedied in a second edition, for Haidar is an author who deserves to be translated in full. In one place,

p. 128, Mr. Ross has, I think, been unnecessarily squeamish, with the result that he has missed out a very apposite reply of Mansur Khán to those who wished him to change his Koran-reader.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. II.—TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THOUGH there has been a great deal spoken and written lately on the subject of Technical Education in India, I think it would be far from the truth to assert that the subject has been thoroughly threshed out and exhausted. It would be quite impossible to discuss fully the whole question of technical education within the limits of an article, but without attempting the impossible, I will try to give an account of the principal facts and observations which my own experience and study of the subject have collected. At the outset I must explain that, though the term "Technical Education" in its widest sense may be taken to include all special, as opposed to purely literary, education, I intend to devote myself for the most part to that section of it which refers to the training of hand and eye, and to special education for artistic and industrial pursuits.

This outcry for Technical Education in India is partly, Origin of the outcry for no doubt, a reflection of a similar Technical Education in agitation in England, which began about India. fifty years ago ; but it is mainly a consequence of the situation which has arisen in India from the competition of native students for employment in Government and private situations in which only general or literary educational acquirements are demanded, and the excess of the supply over the demand. The disappointed competitors, finding these doors closed to them, join in a vague and indefinite demand for technical, and what has been called "bread earning," education, hoping thereby that some new avenues of employment may be opened. That this evil of excessive competition in various walks of life does exist to an alarming extent, no one will deny. But it is by no means a state of affairs peculiar to India ; and, though we may admit the evil, that is quite a different thing from taking for granted that Technical Education is the proper and entirely sufficient remedy. I will not for a moment maintain that the system of European general education imported into India has proved a complete success, and fulfils all requirements ; but the very errors and weaknesses which the working of it has brought out ought to warn us not to accept, without question, further additions to, or amendments of, the system based only on European experience.

Let us first turn our attention to Europe, and examine the situation which has existed in England and other countries during the last half century, a situation which gave rise to a similar agitation there. We shall thus be enabled to see in

what respect the evils we wish to remedy and the wants we would supply resemble those existing in European countries.

The middle of the eighteenth century was the dawn of a new era in European manufactures, art, industries and commerce. The introduction of steam as a motive power stimulated mechanical invention, and within less than a century revolutionised the whole system of trade and manufactures which had obtained in Europe from time immemorial. It is most important to remember that, previous to this era, the workmen engaged in arts and manufactures in Europe and those in Asia were on an almost equal footing. Indeed, in many respects, the advantages were very much on the side of the Eastern artisan, so that the competition of the Indian workmen was keenly felt in Europe in many branches of industry, and from time to time many prohibitive laws were passed to restrict the importation into Europe of articles of oriental manufacture which, by reason of their cheapness and excellence, affected injuriously the home industries. Until that time the system of manufacture in the East and in the West was practically identical: the workmen in every branch of manufacture relied more on their own skilfulness of hand and eye and on their traditional craft-lore, than on the mechanical perfection of the simple appliances they used in their trade. The caste system of India, which has regulated and kept alive the traditions of native art and industry, had its counterpart in Europe in the great Trade Guilds of the Middle Ages, which, by binding artisans together in societies under strict rules for the conduct of their several handicrafts, kept the whole course of trade within certain well defined grooves. The sumptuary laws which were passed to regulate the dress and manner of life of different classes of society operated in the same direction.

Though the ties of the feudal system which had held society so closely in the Middle Ages were loosened and broken long before the eighteenth century, yet their effect on the organisation of trade and industries was much more lasting. But mechanical invention and steam power soon changed all that. After a hopeless struggle against the ever-increasing perfection of machinery, the intelligent hand-worker was at last completely driven out of many industries, only retaining a place in some as an unthinking drudge, toiling at the behest of the mechanical monsters invented by man. With the complete extinction of the handicraftsman, the old system of apprentices bound to a master workman for seven years to learn a trade became obsolete, and the Trade Guilds, losing all their influence and control over the conduct of trade and handicrafts, are now

represented in name only by the City of London Companies. The old workshops, owned by master workmen, the inheritors like the caste workmen of India, of all the accumulated craft-lore of centuries, were transformed into factories giving employment to hundreds of thousands of human drudges and representing millions of sterling in capital. The progress of chemical science, which not only assisted existing industries, but itself created many new ones, together with the cheapening of production brought about by the use of machinery, turned the balance of trade enormously in favour of Europe. The hand-weavers of India were as helpless in the face of the competition of the power-looms of Manchester as their fellow-workmen in Europe. Not only did the export trade to Europe cease, but the English manufacturers, turning the tables on the Indian workmen, became the masters of the Indian market also. In the same way the Indian export trade in cotton prints, or chintzes, once a very important one, dwindled away so much that now an Indian cotton print is only to be procured in Europe in the curiosity shops.

England, which was the pioneer of European countries in this new movement, became the centre of the world's commerce, and entered upon a period of unexampled prosperity. In this prosperity India has shared largely; for, though her ancient handicrafts have suffered severely, the loss, commercially speaking, has been more than recouped in the whole volume of trade, while the introduction of English capital and English industries into India has helped India to help herself.

Now I come to the most important point, that is, the part which technical education has had in England's commercial progress during the last century and a half. At the beginning of the era to which I allude, all technical education was in the hands of the Trade Guilds and the master workmen who, though their knowledge was chiefly of the kind known as "rule of thumb," that is acquired without an understanding of scientific principles and theories, yet were the possessors of the accumulated wisdom of centuries, handed down by tradition. It is the fashion of some narrow-minded people to sneer at this kind of learning, and to treat it as of no account. Yet this same old-fashioned and out-of-date wisdom is the basis of all our present knowledge, and all the scientific discoveries of the present age are built upon this foundation. In many branches of industrial art, in spite of all the efforts which have been made to discover the lost secrets of antiquity, in spite of our boasted scientific discoveries and inventions, we have not been able to go beyond, or even to equal, the achievements of our unscientific and technically uneducated ancestors. Take

for instance, one of the oldest branches of human industry, that of pottery, an expert writer in a recent work says :—" The triumphs of pottery in China, Persia and Japan are marvellous, not merely as creations of beauty, but as examples of what may be accomplished by means so primitive and methods so simple that they would seem to be within the grasp of every beginner. Yet one is humbled by the reflection that notwithstanding all the perfection of modern mechanical appliances, added to the combined experience of a hundred generations, the achievements of many of these ancient oriental potters have baffled all the efforts of modern times to equal or surpass them."

It is, therefore, stupid and short-sighted not to treat with the highest respect this old-world knowledge, which was the technical education of our forefathers. However that may be, this old system of technical education has been almost entirely extinguished in Europe by the revolution first brought about by the application of steam-power to all branches of handicraft. Technical education, as we now understand it, that is, the teaching in schools of scientific principles and theories in their relation to arts and manufactures, had nothing whatever to do with the origin of England's commercial development. That was begun long before technical education was spoken of, and was chiefly brought about by the inventive genius and research of comparatively a few individuals, long before modern technical schools and institutes existed. The outcry for technical education in England did not begin until nearly a century after the foundations of her great commercial development had been laid.

Let us now see what was the beginning, and the reason for this agitation.

Before we go further, it will be useful to divide our subject roughly into two heads, first, the Art side, secondly, the Scientific side. Under the first head I include all of what are called the "Applied Arts," that is, those industries in which Art is more or less an important factor. Under the second head, I put manufactures and industries into which either no consideration of Art enters, or it is regarded as of little account. Now as to the Art industries, I have shown how the substitution of mechanical power for hand labour had almost extinguished the old system of technical education, and had brought with it nothing to take its place. The old workshops were expanded into huge factories, in which the workmen, instead of being intelligent creatures filled with a love and knowledge of art and a pride for the traditions of their crafts, were merely human machines, unreasoning slaves of a hard and fast commercial system. The various processes of manufacture were

portioned out among different workmen, each skilled in one particular process only. Each separate part of the so-called works of art they produced was made by mechanical means from given patterns by the gross, by the square yard, or by the hundredweight. Now, if cheapness of production were the only consideration of importance in Art manufacture, such a system as this would be the best possible. But the whole essence of Art is contained in man's creative faculty, in his thought and in his brain; whereas the whole tendency of this new system of manufacture was to reduce thought and manual skill to a minimum by the perfection of mechanical agencies.

A sound and honest system of Art manufacture must seek to strike a happy medium between the exigencies of Art and those of commerce. In modern times the two are indeed hard to reconcile. Certainly modern English art manufacturers for a long time failed to reconcile them. England had taken the initiative in applying mechanical science to all branches of Art industry, and in striving after cheap production only English Art industries became hopelessly corrupted and degraded. This state of affairs was first revealed by the Great International Exhibition held in London in 1851. It was there made evident that in the higher branches of Art industry France and other countries far surpassed England in the taste and elegance of their productions. An agitation for the better training of English designers and Art workmen then began, and after much discussion a system of Art schools, supported by the Government, was inaugurated. The main object of these schools was to give artisans a training in the principles and practice of applied Art, to take the place of the old training by workshop tradition, which had been swept away as I have already explained.

It would be wandering needlessly from my subject to give detailed facts and figures to show the practical influence which the Government system of Art instruction, aided by the efforts of the Art manufacturers themselves, has had on English Art manufactures. It will be sufficient to state the fact that at the present time, the best English Art manufacturers are, for the most part, quite able to hold their own against foreign competitors, without importing foreign designers or workmen, and that the balance of trade in the higher branches of Art industry has turned very much in favour of England since the great Exhibition of 1851. It is more important to remember that, as regards the Art industries, it was the degenerating influence of the new conditions of trade and commerce, brought about since the middle of the last century, which created the necessity for an organised scheme of Industrial Education in Europe.

Let us now turn to the other side of the question, and consider what part Technical Education has taken in England's commercial progress with reference to the scientific branches of industry and trade, generally designated as the "useful arts" in contradistinction to the "decorative arts," and the "fine arts." The classification is only a rough one, but it will serve our purpose. In relation to Art industries our modern Technical Education has turned back to old established principles and endeavoured to raise the standard of modern work by a study of great works of mediæval and ancient times, but with regard to the other branches of industry, it has started out in quite new directions.

The new field which was first opened for inventive ingenuity and scientific research by the introduction of steam-power as a motive force, not only produced an enormous development of the old industries, but it created many new ones. It also brought about a condition of things in manufacture and commerce which had never been known before. Previous to this era of scientific discovery, the internal changes which took place in manufacture and trade were few and gradual. Things jogged on from one generation to another in much the same way as they had done for centuries. There were no violent changes and disturbances except those brought about by wars or political revolutions, by the edicts of kings or the decrees of Parliaments. The new era, on the other hand, was one of constant revolution and restless activity. A new invention of machinery had hardly superseded the old system of manufacture when further improvements consigned it to the limbo of disuse. A manufactory fitted up at great expense with the newest type of machinery found itself obliged, within a few years, to discard or alter the whole of it, because a new invention had given the advantage to some rival enterprise. The discovery of some new process would bring about a revolution in the treatment of raw materials, or render available some new material for the purpose of manufacture. A very keen competition between manufacturers and merchants thus arose, which every year becomes closer and keener. England had a good start in the race, and for a long time did not feel the competition of foreign countries; the struggle was mostly internal between her own manufacturers.

But the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London was an object-lesson which foreign countries, as well as England, were not slow to profit by. While it showed England the degradation of her Art industries, it revealed to foreign countries their weakness in mechanical arts and manufactures. England began to educate her Art workmen; other countries started their technical schools to give a scientific training to their artisans. Four

years afterwards, in the International Exhibition of Paris (1855), the first results of these efforts were evident. England showed an improved taste in many of her industrial Art exhibits; France and Germany a striking improvement in machinery and industrial products. The third object-lesson was in London in 1862. There the scientific discoveries and the mechanical inventions exhibited by foreign nations warned England that, if she was to retain her commercial supremacy, she must follow the lead of other countries in the matter of scientific education for her workmen. But their long commercial pre-eminence had blinded the eyes of English manufacturers, and it was not until the next International Exhibition, held in Paris in 1867, that they were thoroughly aroused and alarmed by the progress of their foreign competitors. And not without reason, for while the English artizan still maintained his reputation for fine, accurate and honest work, yet in most of those departments where forethought, scientific knowledge, design and mechanical ingenuity were required, the foreigner, by reason of his better scientific education, was the Englishman's superior. Then, at last, when England's commercial supremacy was seriously threatened, the English manufacturers and the nation joined in an effort to do what other countries had been doing for fifteen years. It is impossible to estimate how much England lost and is losing still by her shortsightedness and apathy with regard to this question of education. Even now, in many departments of technical education, we are behind other countries. We have not yet learnt thoroughly the lesson that, under modern conditions, the prizes in the struggle for commercial supremacy go to the best educated nation.

Now let us start from this summary of the history of technical education in England, and see what deductions we can draw from it. The first and most important is that the beginning of it all was a great industrial movement, begun and developed entirely by private enterprise, private research, private capital. It was private enterprise alone that brought England her commercial prosperity: the only part which the Legislature has taken in it has been in the removal of legal impediments and unwise restrictions on private enterprise. The next point is that, on the basis of this industrial movement, a State-aided scheme of technical instruction has been built up, and in this educational scheme there are two distinct and separate features:—1st an Art scheme, to take the place of the old method of technical Art instruction, and to check the corruption and degradation

of Art industries by the ultra-scientific and commercial tendencies of the present age. 2nd. A scientific scheme to keep pace with foreign countries in those useful or scientific manufactures and industries which have been built up by modern discoveries, and to apply to all branches of industry the results of modern scientific research.

Now, if we examine the state of trade and industry in India, we discover a very different situation from that which led to a demand for technical education in Europe, and any general scheme of technical schools, similar to those which exist in England, would not only be a costly and comparatively useless experiment, but it would most certainly be the means of increasing, instead of lessening, the very difficulties which have led to a demand for technical education in India. It would add to the glut of candidates seeking Government employment; for where are the manufactories and workshops to provide employment for the hundreds and thousands of technically educated students such schools would turn out yearly? If then technical education, as understood in Europe, is to take a useful place in the Indian Educational system it must conform to the conditions of arts and industries which at present obtain in this country.

The most superficial observer must see how widely different is the situation in India from that which existed in Europe at the commencement of the Technical Education movement. Taking first the Art industries, we have already seen how in England the substitution of mechanical means for the old handwork system had brought about a serious degradation of the artistic standard, a degradation which, had it not been arrested, might have ended in the transfer to foreign hands of all the higher branches of English industrial Art. In India, on the other hand, the methods of handwork in Art industries are almost precisely the same as those which were employed in Europe before this period of degradation began. We must look in quite a different direction to find out the causes of the depression which has existed for a long time in most of the old Art handicrafts of India. I would say that the state of Art industry in India shows at this time three distinct phases—

1st.—A great trade depression affecting chiefly the manufacture of fabrics and articles of every day use, owing to the competition of cheap machine-made imported goods.

2nd.—A trade depression and degradation of the artistic standard in the manufacture of articles of luxury, such as embroidered fabrics, brocades, carpets,

gold and silver work and decorative work in general, owing chiefly to the adoption of European fashions, costume and ways of life by native gentlemen of wealth and position.

3rd.—A degradation of the artistic standard in Indian manufactures of European demand, more especially in all the minor Art industries which come under the description of "Indian Curiosities."

From this diagnosis we may discover in what way any scheme of technical education is likely to bring about an amelioration of the situation. Under the first head the chief native industries affected are those of cotton weaving and the allied industries of dyeing and cotton printing.

Technical Education and Indian Art industries. That they have suffered enormously, no one will deny. The export trade, formerly a very important one, has almost ceased to exist, and three-fourths of the workmen formerly employed have been driven to agriculture or other occupations. But the handworkers in Europe suffered even more severely from the competition of machinery : they have been driven entirely out of the market. Except as a home industry, there is practically nothing of the former trade left. And it is foolish and hopeless to suppose that handwork can ever compete with machinery in any manufactures where cheapness of production is the chief consideration. Technical education did not save the European handworkers from extinction in these branches of industry, neither will it bring back their former prosperity to the Indian artisans. Though some thing might be done, perhaps, to help the native weavers to a more effective form of hand-loom, they and their fellow artisans must rely mainly on the advantages which handwork always has over machinery—advantages which have hitherto saved their industries from the annihilation which overtook them in Europe. The cheapness of the cost of living and the fewness of his requirements will continue to give the Indian handicraftsman a better chance than his fellow workman in Europe. Again, in India, the textile industries are not as in Europe subject to violent changes owing to the caprices of Fashion. But, besides this, handwork has in itself many natural advantages. A good hand-woven native cloth will outwear three of the cheap machine-made imitations. The old native vegetable dyes are, as a rule, far more lasting and much more beautiful than those discovered in modern times by chemical research. Then handwork can adapt itself more easily than machinery to special caste regulations, or individual taste. The native workman, if he is to survive the struggle with machine-made manufactures,

must take his stand on these natural advantages and develop them to the utmost : it is futile for him to lower his standard and compete on the same ground as machine-made goods. Technical education will never give to the Indian handicraftsman the ability to rival European manufactures in any class of goods where cheapness, uniformity and exactness are the first considerations ; but it might to a limited extent help him to develop those natural advantages which the hand-process possesses. For instance, the European hand-loom works more quickly and is better adapted for weaving some kinds of cloth than the native loom. In some of the Mission Industrial schools in the Madras Presidency, and I believe in other parts of India, these looms have been introduced, and native colored cloths of the commoner kind are made stronger, of better quality, and almost as cheap as the machine-made imitations sold in the bazars. This is real technical education, and if the native artisans at large industrial centres are given the opportunity of observing improved appliances or tools adapted to their requirements, they are not so conservative or prejudiced against adopting them as is generally supposed ; hardly more so than most European workmen who have been accustomed for generations to work in a particular way.

There is often a very sound reason for their apparent obstinacy and prejudice against adopting European improvements. It often happens that either these so-called improvements are not adapted to the special technical requirements of the native workman, or their expensiveness is a bar to their adoption. In many cases the standard of work required of him and the wages he receives are so low that it is impossible for the native artisan to provide himself with expensive tools and apparatus. Like every other workman, the native is to a great extent what his employers make him. The question here is one of demand and supply, not of technical education.

I will now pass on to discuss the condition of those native industries which include all the higher decorative arts and the manufacture of articles of luxury. In nearly all of these industries there is a commercial depression and very marked falling off in the artistic standard. The commercial depression is not directly due to European competition, but rather to a change in the manner of life, the adoption of European dress, furniture and habits by many of the wealthy classes of Indians. They give up their old simple traditional manner of life. Forsaking the beautiful and original old native styles of architecture, they build their houses and palaces in imitation of the ugly and characterless travesties of European styles, typical of Anglo-Indian architecture. They fill their houses with European furniture and

European decoration. They leave off their own becoming and dignified costume and put on European dress with all its nineteenth century ugliness. And they do all this under the impression that they are advancing with the times and following the artistic movement in Europe. A greater mistake was never made. Art in India is in many ways far more healthy and living than it has been in Europe for over a century. Here it is still a part of the life of the people ; it goes into their homes, into their religion, and into their every-day life. The workmen are trained in the Art traditions of centuries, and the best of them are artists in every sense of the word. It is true that the higher branches of painting and sculpture have never reached the same point of development in India as in Europe, but the foundations of Art are sound and healthy and have not yet been torn up, as in most European countries, by revolutions in mechanical science. Art in England is an exotic of forced growth, a rare and delicate plant, nurtured in schools and academies, but never striking its roots deep into the soil. It is a luxury, an amusement for our hours of leisure, not a part of our national life, as it was in former times. Public taste is not really educated in Art : it is largely influenced by what is called Fashion, originating in a spurious taste, which substitutes for real artistic knowledge and feeling a constant craving for something new.

Real English Art—the best of it—is never seen in India. We get here only the dregs of Fashion. This is what the natives of India imitate when they abandon their traditional life, and adopt the imported art of Europe. The effect upon the industrial arts of India is very easy to discover. The falling off in the demand causes a degradation of the artistic standard ; native workmen, following the taste of their customers, imitate the wretched designs of the European mercantile pattern books, use horrible aniline dyes and inferior imported materials. How, then, will more education for the native Art workman benefit *him* ? Is it not rather the workmen's *employers* who require technical education ? The best Art in Europe is going back more and more to the conditions of manufacture which were followed in mediæval times, conditions similar to those of the traditional industrial arts of India. The direction which the more advanced of native reformers would have Indian Art to take is straight towards that Slough of Despond into which Art in England had fallen at the time of the Great Exhibition of 1851 ; from which she has been struggling ever since to extricate herself.

Real progress in Indian Art must come from within. Native

Progress in Indian Art
must come from within.

gentlemen of wealth and position must
not look to European Art to raise public
taste in this country. True Art

springs from the inner consciousness of a people. It reflects their thoughts, their deepest feelings, their character and mode of life. To be genuine, it must be spontaneous. So all that is good in Indian Art to-day is what belongs to the inner traditional life of the people—all that is bad is the reflection of nineteenth century change and restlessness, and the attempted imitation of foreign styles of Art. It may be objected that the higher branches of painting and sculpture, or what is understood by "Fine Art," have hardly developed in India; that the Art of native wood and stone carvers, decorative painters, goldsmiths and metal workers does not satisfy all that an educated interest in Art demands; and therefore educated natives must look to European developments of Fine Art to fill up the deficiencies of Indian Art. I reply that the history of Art in every country clearly teaches that a healthy and original school of Fine Art can proceed only from the higher development of the industrial arts—that no good can come to Indian Art by attempting to graft on to it the Art of countries differing so widely in thought and social development as European and Asiatic nationalities. Sir James Linton, P. R. I., in an address at a meeting of the Society for the Encouragement and Preservation of Indian Art sometime ago, put the whole question very forcibly. His words were:—"No Art could flourish or ever be great, no Art could by any possibility benefit humanity, that was not absolutely and entirely the result of a nation's individuality, the highest force and the only force which could originate and carry through to the end a truly great Art impulse."

In the nature of things it must be so, because a true artist is never a mere copyist; he does not repeat, parrot-like, other people's ideas: he impresses his work with his own individuality, for he has something to tell the world, and he tells it in his own language. To develop a really great school of Fine Art in India, it is necessary for natives of wealth and position to encourage the traditional art of the worker in gold, silver, and bronze: they must employ the native stone and wood carvers and decorative painters to adorn their palaces and houses as they did in former times: they must allow them full scope for illustrating in stone and marble, wood and metal, clay or fresco, their religious traditions, legends and folk lore, or motives drawn from their own imagination, from the every day life of the people, or from history. Above all their work must be the outpouring of their workmen's own ideas, not a feeble reflection of European sentiment.

The history of Indian Art agrees with that of every European country in teaching that it is from industrial artists employed in this way that a higher development of sculpture

Fine Art has existed in India in former times.

and painting has sprung. Even so early as the 5th century the workmen who executed the wonderful carvings on the Great Tope of Amravati, in the Madras Presidency, recording so graphically for future generations the stirring scenes of the life and times of Buddha, had begun to develop a school of sculpture of the highest rank. The fresco paintings in the Caves of Ajunta, of about the same period, have extraordinary artistic and technical merit. In later times, under the Moghul Emperors, a school of book-illustrators and illuminators produced work which exhibit all the qualities that go to form a great school of painting. Religious and political revolutions nipped in the bud, these promising developments of Fine Art in India; but history will surely repeat itself if the Princes and nobility and other native patrons of Art will take to heart the lessons which history teaches and set themselves to work, while yet there is time, to develop Indian Art in the right way. They have opportunities such as are not to be found in any European country for making an epoch in the history of Art.

In this connection India might with advantage learn something from the experience of that enterprising and highly artistic nation, the Japanese. A lesson from Japan. It is well known how readily they have appropriated to their own use the inventions of European science. Unfortunately they have for many years past shown the same alacrity to borrow from European Art, with results as disastrous to their national Art as a similar policy has been in India. However, some few years ago, the Japanese Government decided to send a special commission to Europe to make enquiries with a view of introducing into Japan a regular system of Art instruction, founded on the methods practised in Europe. This Commission travelled round to all the most important Art centres of Europe, and consulted the heads of the chief academies and other authorities. The advice they got was unanimously in one direction. They were earnestly advised to keep the Art of Japan free from modern European influence, and to maintain all its old traditions. "You have nothing to learn," they said, "from European Art. On the contrary, if you will establish a Central School for teaching all the old traditional practice of your national Art, many European artists will go to Japan to learn from you." The Japanese as a people have a very highly developed artistic instinct, and I have no doubt that, with their usual acuteness, they will take to heart this lesson and will in future exert themselves to protect their national Art from the modern influences which tend to degrade it. It will be a good day for India when people in this country begin to recognise the importance of moving in the same direction.

The third symptom in our diagnosis of the state of Indian Art, namely the degradation of the Indian curiosities. minor Art industries in articles generally described as "Indian curiosities," need not be entered into very fully. This branch of Indian Art is partly an outcome of the uneducated taste of the purchasers and partly the creation of that enterprising person, the middleman. His aims are purely commercial. A section of the public, not very discriminating in matters of Art, want cheap bric-a-brac which shall be curious and Indian. The middleman is quite ready to supply this demand, and to foster it as far as he is able. He has little or no artistic training, but it is not difficult to design things which are curious. They have nothing in common with genuine Indian Art, but they are sometimes made in India, so they may be "Indian curiosities." It matters little to the middleman that by his system of trade he is corrupting the hereditary artistic instinct of the native Art workmen, and degrading the standard of their handiwork. The demand for his cheap curiosities increases; his business prospers, and he is happy.

Now, there is no doubt that in many circumstances the middleman is a useful and even necessary member of society, and many will urge that, as he helps to develop trade and brings money into the country, these obvious material benefits far outweigh any mere sentimental, artistic considerations. Now I think it is easy to show that this argument is very shallow and shortsighted, even from the Philistine point of view. The Art industries of which we are speaking hold a permanent place in the market only by reason of their artistic qualities. If the middleman, trading with a passing fashion or inferior taste, lowers the artistic standard, he does a permanent injury to Indian Art and trade also. That section of the public whose artistic ideas are regulated only by fashion and novelty, though a numerous one, is very capricious. The middleman's Indian curiosities may thus obtain a large sale for a time; but twenty years hence, when, perhaps, public taste will be better educated, a collapse may come, and Indian curiosities will be unsaleable. Even now all Indian Art-ware has a very bad name with connoisseurs in Europe. The middleman appeals to a wider and less discriminating market; but, by degrading the artistic standard, he is playing the rôle of the traditional old lady who killed the goose which laid the golden eggs. The art dealer or middleman can, if he will, lead public taste to a great extent, instead of following it, and this is what the middleman in Europe often does. If he has not had an Art training himself, he employs qualified artists and designers, so that in at least a few of the best establishments of Art dealers in London, those who cannot depend

upon their own judgment in Art matters, will not find it imposed upon by the bad taste or ignorance of the dealers. The Indian middleman is merely a merchant, and, however monstrous and outrageous a design may be artistically, he is willing to employ native artisans to manufacture it as long as he can find a sale for it.

I have now discussed the three chief points to be observed

Technical education in the present condition of native Art and manufacturing industries in India. industries, and I think I have shown that technical education, based entirely

on European models, would miss the mark, and aggravate rather than diminish the evils which exist in India, because the conditions influencing Indian Art industries are totally different from those which called into existence the technical education movement in Europe. It remains for me to consider the other side of the technical education question in India, that is, its relation to manufactures in which scientific or other than artistic considerations are of the first importance.

When we look upon the activity of Western nations in such industries, it must strike us forcibly how entirely undeveloped the vast material resources of India are in this respect. Where are the colossal manufactories of iron and steel, of machinery and hardware, of glass and pottery, soap and candles, matches, chemicals, in short, of all those industrial products which go to make western nations rich and prosperous, and which are imported into India to the value of millions sterling every year? Their number is so few in proportion to the vast requirements and capabilities of India that it is hardly to be taken into account. Only in a few large centres of European trade, like Bombay and Calcutta, is there any approximation to the industrial activity which prevails in Europe, and only in such centres would there be any scope for technical institutes founded on European models. Technical Institutes in Europe do not create new industries; nor will they do so in India. Private enterprise and capital must develop industry before there is scope for higher technical education, such as these Institutes afford. We have had an interesting illustration of the truth of this axiom in the history of two technical Institutes which were started about the same time, one in Bombay, and another in Madras. The Bombay Institute was organised to teach scientific principles to foremen and workmen already employed in the manufactories and workshops of the city. The principle of such an Institute in a great industrial centre like Bombay is thoroughly sound, and, with good management and adequate support, the success which, I believe, the Institute obtained from the first, was sure. The failure of the other one in Madras

was equally sure, because it was started on entirely unsound principles. Madras is not a great centre of European industry like Bombay ; but the Committee which was formed to organise a scheme for the Institute, started with the fallacious idea that technical Institutes should take the place of private enterprise, and introduce new industries into Madras. So they issued a circular with a list of, if I remember correctly, 65 branches of industry from which the public were invited to choose those they thought most suitable for demonstration in the Institute. Of course, it was not long before the Committee had to change their ground, and endeavour to form a more workable plan ; but, after a moribund existence of about nine years, the Madras Technical Institute, as far as technical education is concerned, has not yet got beyond the embryonic stage of proposals on paper, while it affords an admirable object lesson of what should not be attempted in technical education.

For the development of her natural resources India's most crying need is not higher technical education, but private enterprise and private capital. The special application of technical education to India's great industry of agriculture is a very intricate and important subject, though quite beyond my province to discuss. But I will assert most emphatically that any number of technical Institutes will never create for India the manufactures of which she stands in need. Every new industrial undertaking, or new workshop, which private enterprise opens, brings with it the practical technical education which is most necessary for India. Those who, without adequate knowledge and without adequate reflection, flourish the flag of technical education before the eyes of the Indian public, are doing harm to India's best interests ; for they divert attention from the real issues and from the real technical education which is going on in the country.

I will now pass from the discussion of the condition of India with regard to her arts and manufactures and attack the most vital point to be considered, namely, what kind of technical education is most wanted in India ? Technical education in relation to industrial arts and to manufactures may be divided into three classes. The first is primary technical instruction, which is, or should be, part of every school boy's education. The object of primary technical instruction is firstly to develop the faculties of observation and to train the hand to work in sympathy with the impressions of the eye ; and secondly to impart an elementary knowledge of general principles of science. The next class of technical instruction is the practical training in arts

or manufactures which is given in the workshop or factories. The third class, or higher technical instruction, presupposes the existence of the second. It is the special application of principles of art, or principles of science, to particular branches of art or manufacture. Before the middle of this century nearly all technical instruction was, as I have already described, of the second class, that is, of the practical and traditional kind ; or rather I should say that the second class comprehended all three. The present system in Europe is that primary technical instruction is a part of general school education. There are various systems of hand and eye training, but they are all based upon Drawing, and drawing has been made a compulsory subject in State-aided schools in every European country where education has made much progress. In India the subject has not been neglected entirely, though I fear the importance of this kind of instruction, and sometimes even the object of it, have not always been rightly understood.

It is commonly thought that, unless a student shows special aptitude or inclination for Drawing, it is not worth while to encourage him to learn it. Learning to draw is supposed to be inseparably connected with the study of æsthetics, or the appreciation of beauty in nature and Art, and is thus considered a special gift, which only a favoured few are endowed with. This is a great fallacy. Drawing, as a branch of primary technical education, has nothing whatever to do with æsthetics. Far be it from me to say that the æsthetic side of the question should be ignored or neglected. I would only insist that the essential value of good instruction in Drawing, from a technical point of view, is the training of the eye in accurate observation, in plain words, teaching to see. The habit of accurate observation is of the greatest importance in almost every walk of life. Yet the cultivation of the faculty of seeing is one which is, as a rule, very much neglected. It is often considered as a faculty which may be left to develop itself. But if you show an untutored savage a photograph, or picture, he will not know the top from the bottom ; an infant learns to distinguish the form of things and to estimate distance only by the sense of touch. If you examine twenty uneducated people about something which they assert emphatically they have seen "with their own eyes," hardly two descriptions will be similar. Or if you ask twenty intelligent school-boys, whose eyesight is physiologically equally good, but who have not been taught to draw, to put down on paper a correct representative of any simple object, such as a table or a box, hardly one of them will be able to reproduce the impression on the retina of "their own eyes" with tolerable accuracy. This is not because they are devoid of artistic

talent, but because they have not been taught to see. The faculty of seeing is not simply a natural instinct, incapable of further development, and the habit of careful observation, which good instruction in Drawing gives, is one of the best forms of training the eye can have.

But it is not every kind of Drawing which can be called technical. To be of any value as technical training, it must be properly taught. It is too often the case in schools in England that Drawing is taught only as an elegant accomplishment; the students begin by copying pencil or chalk drawings of rustic bridges, trees and picturesque cottages, and finish with sketching landscapes in water colors. Now, this kind of thing is amusing; but it is certainly not technical education. The practice of many otherwise good schools in this respect causes much misunderstanding as to the value of Drawing as a part of a good general education.

It is not the place here to enlarge upon the right system of Drawing for primary technical instruction. I will simply say that Drawing, properly taught, is the foundation of nearly all technical instruction applied to Art and manufactures, and, being of the greatest value in developing one of the most important functions of the brain, it should, as far as possible, be made compulsory in every school in India. What has been done already in this direction is very far short of what might be done. It is, I believe, a fact, by which India should take warning and reflect what England lost by being fifteen years behind other countries in starting technical schools, that Japan made Drawing compulsory in all her High schools *ten years ago*. I fear that many more years will elapse before such a step is practicable in India, unless a more enlightened view of the scope of technical education is brought home to Municipal and other local bodies.

Primary technical instruction also includes instruction in elementary principles of science, such as Elementary Science, chemistry, physics, botany and geology, a knowledge of which is valuable in almost every walk in life, and an indispensable preliminary to many special occupations. Considerable advance has been made of late years in introducing these subjects into Indian High schools. It is a thoroughly sound policy to make both drawing and elementary science part of every school-boy's education. But we must not expect immediate or very visible results from it. It is good seed, which carefully sown and well watered, will eventually grow and increase a hundred-fold. Only let us avoid pulling up the tender plants every few years to see how they are growing.

So much for primary technical instruction. So far we have

Secondary or Practical
Technical Instruction.

only been discussing principles which have generally been accepted in the Indian educational system and recognised officially by the various Governments. But when we come to the next class of technical instruction—the practical teaching in the workshop and factory—which I will call secondary technical instruction, we are on more debateable ground. In England this is not recognised as a branch of technical instruction at all. The English Technical Instruction Act expressly excludes from its scope “teaching the practice of any trade or industry or employment,” and many educational authorities would apply the same rigid rule to India. This, I think, is a great mistake. It is just one of those points in which English theory does not apply to the conditions which obtain in India. So far as concerns those European industries and manufactures which have been imported into India, the English theory applies equally well to India, and I entirely concur that it would be bad policy to teach the practice of such industries in technical schools. All that Government need do in this direction is to afford facilities to apprentices to learn in railway and public workshops and factories; private undertakings can be left, as at present, to train up the practical workmen they require for themselves. It would be still worse policy, as I have already urged, to attempt to introduce new European industries

Art Industries.

by means of practical instruction in technical Institutes. But as regards the indigenous, hereditary Art handicrafts of India, in which I am more particularly interested, I believe, or I may say I am absolutely convinced, that a similar policy of non-intervention will only end in their eventual entire corruption or extinction, and that at no remote period. Holding these views, when I was in charge of the Madras School of Arts, I introduced the actual practice of native Art handicrafts there, and, after more than eight years' experience, I am prepared to stand by that policy. I do not say that it can be applied to any and every Art school in India, but I maintain that it is the most practical way of influencing the native Art workman. Regarded from a European standpoint, the principle may be unsound; and educational theorists, who regard technical education only from a European point of view, have criticised it adversely. In the last Review of the progress of Education in India, an opinion of one authority is quoted to the effect that there is less necessity in India than in England for Government to undertake the teaching of industries, because, “while in England the apprenticeship system has almost disappeared, in India it still exists, and hereditary handicrafts

"are handed down from father to son." Now, if the traditions of native art industries were being handed down in their integrity from father to son in the present day as they have been in former generations, this argument would be very convincing ; but it is an obvious fact that the traditions of native Art are every year becoming more corrupt and degraded. In England the traditions of her former national handicrafts have long been lost and broken ; so there can be no question of teaching them in Government Schools or in private workshops. In India one of the most important duties of Art schools should be to counteract the influences which are degrading native Art, and to prevent the old traditions from dying out, as they have done in England.

I had been told by one who should have been a good authority that, as regards Art, Madras was a desert. But in this desert I was fortunate enough to find a few remarkably fertile oases. In a small town in the south of the Madura district, I found the best wood carver in the whole Madras Presidency. Again, in a small village in the Northern Circars, I discovered a jeweller who could give lessons in technique to the best workmen in Madras city. In another small village I came across a metal-worker of really remarkable skill and talent. He was occasionally employed in decorative metal-work for a temple, and was well versed in all the traditions of the Hindu Shastras. His *repoussé* work is the finest that exists in all India, and will bear comparison with the best Byzantine work, such as is seen on the doors of celebrated churches and cathedrals in Italy. These three men were artists in every sense of the word ; but in the surroundings in which they were placed their opportunities of exercising their skill were few and far between. Their race is fast dying out in India, and with them real Indian Art will become extinct while we are discussing what is technical education and what is not. I brought these men to the Madras School of Arts and gave them opportunities of doing the best they were capable of, without interfering with their own ideas and traditions. I placed under them, as apprentices, students of the school, sons of wood carvers, jewellers and metal-workers in Madras city, who will thus be enabled to learn real Indian Art from the best instructors, free from the contaminating influences of the bazar and the Indian Art curiosity dealer. The students were taught enough of the elementary principles of design, so that they could intelligently adapt the style of art they were learning to any article of European demand, for while Indian Art should be kept pure, there is no reason why it should not adapt itself to the new order of things in India and find wider scope than it ordinarily does.

This system of technical education may be very crude and unscientific from a theoretical and European point of view ; but I maintain that it is the best and most practical for arresting the extinction of the only real living Art which exists in India. I do not say that it can or should be adopted in every school of Art in India. In fact, there is a great danger (and this is a point of vital importance) that, unless the schools of Art are maintained at a high degree of efficiency as technical schools, with teachers, not only in sympathy with Indian Art, but qualified by training and experience to supervise practical industrial Art work, these superior native handicraftsmen, transplanted from their ancestral villages into new surroundings, will degenerate like their fellow workmen, and the schools will descend almost to the level of the Indian curiosity shops.

In dealing with the indigenous Art industries, I would advocate an active policy different from that which obtains in Europe, because the conditions in India are entirely different.

Introduction of machinery into native industries.

But with regard to any system of technical instruction for encouraging the introduction of machinery and improved appliances into native industry, this is such a difficult and complicated question that I think it would be much wiser to leave it for the most part to the natural course of the development of trade and industry.

It is, of course, useless and foolish to oppose the advance of mechanical industry, and there are, no doubt, many natural openings for it in India by means of which the native handicraftsmen may regain the ground they have lost through European competition. An interesting illustration of this is given by Mr. Griffiths, late Principal of the Bombay School of Art, in a recent number of the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*. A native coppersmith of Poona, a man of considerable intelligence, finding that he was unable to compete with imported machine-made brass and copper ware, procured from Europe machines for cutting metal into round discs, machines for punching the discs to the required shape, and machines for trimming and turning the edges of the vessels, previous to finishing. By the saving of time and labour, effected by this means, he was able to compete in price with imported manufactures, and to give employment to a large number of native workmen. In such directions there is plenty of scope for the use of machinery without doing injury to native Art.

But in innovations of this kind, it is quite necessary to remember that all progress is not contained within the range of mechanical science, and that the indiscriminate application of machinery

The necessity of caution.

to all branches of industry has, in Europe, annihilated the traditional and national Art handicrafts, and would certainly do the same in India. A wise policy of technical education will profit from the lessons which the history of the movement in Europe teaches, and not blindly follow the same mistakes. Moreover, it is necessary to recognise the fact that, at the root of this question of technical education in India, there is generally an economic question which must be dealt with first. A native workman in a large town, where the European element is large, will use improved tools and mechanical appliances because there is a demand for highly finished work, and he gets better wages for it. But outside these centres there is no such demand, or at least it is very limited, and there is no inducement for the workman to rise above it. The natural development of trade and industry in large towns creates *foci* of practical technical instruction, where native artisans are trained in the use of European methods and appliances in the best possible way. To attempt to increase the supply of skilled labour beyond the natural demand by means of Government schools would be a very expensive and unsound policy.

We now arrive at the third and last point of our subject, Higher Technical Education, or the teaching of principles of Science and Art in their special application to industries and occupations. It is this branch of technical education which is taken up in special schools and institutes in Europe. The scope of it is strictly limited to the requirements of existing industries and occupations. It is possible that the knowledge acquired in technical institutes may indirectly lead to new developments in industry, but such a consideration is not the fundamental principle in technical education in Europe, as is often assumed by people in India. The scope of higher technical education, then, must be to a very great extent limited by the character and extent of a country's industrial development, for the teaching of the principles and theories of industrial processes alone will never lead to the opening of new workshops and manufactories. Private enterprise and capital must, as they have done in Europe, first prepare the way for higher technical education in India by developing the natural resources of the country. Those who build up hopes that the Government of India could, by a large and comprehensive scheme of technical education, open out new avenues of employment and bring about a great development of industry, are only imagining vain things.

For Colleges of Engineering and Agriculture, Schools of Art, and other existing institutions of a special kind, there is an immense field for Higher Technical Education in India.

open, and it will be a great pity and a bar to real progress if attention is in any way diverted from them and the extension of their work by foolish agitation for impossible projects. In great centres of European industry and in the mining districts, there is scope for other special schools like those in Europe, and such as Bombay already possesses. Furthermore, the Government have in their hands a great instrument for advancing the cause of higher technical education in the Public Works Department. Encouragement and assistance of original scientific research will indirectly be a powerful means of promoting the same end. Beyond this, higher technical education must wait until the way is prepared for it. At present, India has most need of other things. Those who have India's interests at heart, the municipalities and other bodies who are entrusted with the local administration of education, should first see that what can be done is done. They should look to it that what remains of India's splendid inheritance of industrial Art is not lost for ever by blind neglect. The Princes and nobility and other native patrons of Art should remember that Art is something which springs from the soil, it is the expression of a people's individuality and cannot be imported from Europe like piece-goods and machinery. Let them not either imagine that progress is associated only with scientific advance, or that there is any necessary antagonism between Art and Science. The one is a complement of the other, and both are necessary for man's higher development. It is a foolish and sordid notion which regards Science only as the symbol of progress, and Art merely as a pleasant companion for man's leisure and amusement. The true sphere of Art, is that which Emerson has most profoundly and eloquently described. "Beauty must come back to the
"useful arts, and the distinction between the fine arts and the
"useful arts be forgotten. If history were truly told, if life were
"nobly spent, it would be no longer easy or possible to distin-
"guish the one from the other. In nature, all is useful, all is
"beautiful. It is therefore beautiful, because it is alive, moving,
"reproductive ; it is therefore beautiful, because it is symmetri-
"cal and fair. Beauty will not come at the call of a legislature,
"nor will it repeat in England or America its history in Greece.
"It will come, as always, unannounced, and spring up between
"the feet of brave and earnest men. Proceeding from a reli-
"gious heart, it will raise to a divine use the railroad, the
"insurance office, the joint-stock company, our law, our primary
"assemblies, our commerce, the galvanic battery, the electric
"jar, the prism and the chemist's retort, in which we seek now
"only an economical use. Is not the selfish and ever cruel
"aspect which belongs to our great mechanical works, to mills,
"railways and machinery, the effect of the mercenary impulses

"which these works obey? When science is learned in love,
"and its powers are wielded by love, they will appear the
"supplements and continuations of the material creation."

E. B. HAVELL.

ART. III.—THE END OF A BAD CUSTOM.

THE middle of the now departing century was marked, in India, by several serious duels ; and it may be well that one of the few remaining survivors of that vanished time should preserve some record, however faint, of a state of things so foreign to our Island character.

How the system of private encounters arose and took root on the Continent has often been told. A lively Scots lawyer—Mr. George Neilson—has summarised the mediæval accounts in a little book, *Trial by Combat*, published by Williams and Norgate in 1890. The rude Burgundians of the sixth century devised wager of battle as a rough and ready way of settling disputes before the idea of judicial evidence had occurred to their uncultured minds. As the abuse of which the system admitted began to declare itself, a more scientific way of getting at the truth in litigation took the place of club-law ; and the duel became a luxury for men of noble birth accusing one another of political offences. This, too, gradually gave way, until the treason-duel of chivalry followed the wager-of-battle in law ; but the pugnacious instincts of French and German found another vent, and duelling became a method of voiding private quarrels amongst gentlemen. As Frank manners became fashionable in England, duelling—aided by the custom of wearing swords in civil costumes—took root among the higher classes. But ere long the prosaic English nature prevailed ; the use of the rapier declined, and single combat, confined for the most part to the determination of serious quarrels, was carried out only by the pistol ; the unconcealed object being the death of one or both of the combatants. The classical instance of an Anglo-Indian duel of the eighteenth century was that between the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and his bitter rival, Sir Philip Francis. Hastings was anything but a bully ; nevertheless he sought this encounter of set purpose. The conduct of Francis in Council having become an intolerable obstacle to the administration, Hastings called him out with the undisguised intention that one of them should fall. This is shown by his objecting to the shady spot first chosen by the seconds, on the express ground that there was not sufficient light, and by his demeanour before the duel, though he showed anxiety for his adversary's life after he had "winged" him. The whole details will be found admirably related by Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (2nd edition), p. p. 109, f. f.

Reverting to the British Islands, we find that duels with
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the pistol—usually attended with lethal results—continued to be fought down to the period of Queen Victoria's accession. In the first decade of that reign, however, a strong feeling began to show itself, in the Press and in society, as to the obsolete and scandalous nature of the practice. There were experts in duelling, like "Fighting Fitzgerald" in Ireland, who wore a hidden shirt of mail and was finally hanged. Such men would fasten on a young fellow, cheat and fleece him at cards, and then insult him in order to get money for letting him off fighting. These and other considerations led to the slow decline of the practice. O'Connell was challenged, in succession, by Peel and by Disraeli, but contrived to avoid fighting. In 1843, however, Lieut.-Col. Fawcett, of the 55th Foot, was killed by his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Monro, of the Blues, on a family dispute. Public opinion was highly excited, and the Coroner's jury found a verdict of "Wilful Murder." Monro's commission was forfeited; and, being found guilty in the criminal trial which followed, he was sentenced to death. The sentence was afterwards commuted; but the scandal forced the Government to action; and Prince Albert, in spite of his Continental origin, is believed to have done his best to stimulate the Horse-Guards to put an end to doubts upon the subject. The chief offenders were usually officers of the army, who, rightly or wrongly, were under the impression that, if they obeyed the law of the land in abstaining from seeking or giving "satisfaction," they would render themselves liable to be brought before a court-martial and deprived of their commissions. This dilemma was abolished by the issue of amended articles from the War Office in April 1844. By these it was at last definitely laid down that it was "suitable to the character of honourable men to apologise and offer redress for wrong or insult committed, and equally so for the party aggrieved to accept, frankly and cordially, explanation and apology for the same."

Obedience is of the essence of military discipline; and, if the officers could be got to obey, the civil gentry would be likely to follow their lead. Accordingly the practice of duelling already described, did not long continue general in England, though some sporadic cases continued for a while to testify to the difficulty which awaits abrupt and total change. The last duel attended with death, in the British Islands, was fought in May 1845, the combatants being an officer of the Royal Marines, named Hawkey, and a retired officer of Hussars. The encounter took place on Gosport Sands; when, in spite of the cause being nothing but such a trifling quarrel as must constantly arise amongst young men, the ex-Hussar fell, mortally wounded, at the first fire. The

surviving principal was tried for his life in the following July ; and, being acquitted by an old-fashioned jury, escaped legal consequences. But the mind of England was stirred, all the more by reason of this impunity ; and it was made generally and unmistakeably manifest that authority would be supported by public opinion in the sternest measures that might be required for the suppression of the evil.

But in those days Anglo-Indian sentiment was slow to receive impulse from home, especially when it was wise and of a reforming tendency. Experience has shown that a military caste is always tenacious of its usages ; and there were peculiar obstacles to the adoption of such a change on the part of the military caste in India. Most of the European males were in the prime of life, leading idle lives, military officers who had entered the service when the system of duelling had been an ingrained element of soldierly feeling. The Anglo-Indian ladies, too, for various reasons, were not altogether suited to exercise the salutary effect on society that may be usually looked for at the hands of civilised woman. This is a somewhat delicate subject ; it may be enough to say that what is here implied is based on personal experience of society at that date. Such as the Anglo-Indian ladies were, the young officers were eager competitors for their smiles ; and, for this and other reasons, were high-spirited, and, if the truth must be told, somewhat quarrelsome. In the opinion of such a community disputes naturally presented more reasons for fighting than for apologising ; there were, indeed, many who would have thought it derogatory to offer an apology, however wrong they might know themselves to be.

Nor did these young fire-eaters, perhaps, believe in the sincerity of the newly expressed disapproval of duelling on the part of the authorities.—And, so far as India was concerned, at least, there may have been some sort of justification for their scepticism ; the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, being a veteran of the old school, distinguished in the Peninsular War, and wounded at Ligny. And, in case of reference to London, the Head of the army there was the Iron Duke himself, who was known to have been “out” in person, this very Hardinge having been his second.

Altogether, it is not wonderful if Anglo-Indian feeling should have been distinctly favourable to duelling at the very time when the practice was being condemned in England. You heard people discuss the question, it is true ; and the fact of a custom being held to admit of discussion may now seem a sign of weakness, though no suspicion of the fact may have been general at the time. The defenders of the practice had the advantage, their assailants being in the position of faddists,

not to say milksops. It was granted by the "chivalrous" party that duelling had been pushed too far; but that a thing was open to abuse did not seem necessarily to prove that it was intrinsically bad. You need not, it was admitted, be always on the look out for offence; but if a gentleman wilfully misunderstood you, there would be meanness in explanation. A case in point was that of one who was asked what he meant (by some expression that had escaped him)? "I meant," was the instant reply, "exactly what you thought I meant when you resolved to ask me." That conversation went no further; the enquirer, apparently, not being of a quarrelsome humour. But it was just the sort of thing that often seemed to justify bloodshed. Then there were more serious disputes: What were you to do if your sister were insulted? Or your wife? In those days sex was not always respected. One is reminded of the orator in the old Irish Parliament who, having occasion to question the policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, did it in this figurative fashion:—

"Sir! the P—s have been always prostitutes, politically and physically; from the toothless harridan that grins in the gallery to the white-livered scoundrel that trembles on the floor."

An encounter naturally followed, fortunately bloodless; after which the eloquent Member, being asked how he knew that Miss P. was in the gallery, airily replied; "Did I not walk down to the house with old P., arm-in-arm; and did not he tell me she'd be there?"

Those were the days when an inevitable question on the nomination of a candidate at the Kildare Street Club was:—"Did he blaze?" Before the Liberator could avoid Peel's challenge, he had proved his manhood by shooting Desterre; and even then hard things were said as to the police proceedings by which the encounter sought by the Chief-Secretary had been obviated. The Liberator was pleading, soon after in the court of Norbury, a Judge who heard cases with a pair of saw-handled pistols on the table before him. While the advocate was speaking, the Judge took up a newspaper, and affected to be absorbed in its contents. O'Connell paused, but was blandly requested to continue. "I was afraid," said the learned gentleman, "that I was not apprehended by your Lordship." "Oh!" replied his Lordship, with much suavity of manner, there's nobody so easily apprehended as Mr. O'Connell when he wishes it."

In the India of Victoria's early years, the tone may have been given by the officers; but the members of the Civil Service and the Bar were as ready to adopt it as ever could have been desired by lawyers and legislators in Ireland.

There is a Bengal Civilian still living in vigorous retirement who had several scalps to his wampum; and an officer of the days here referred to was to be seen limping about Calcutta maimed for life by this Civilian, with whom he had a dispute in a Ball-room, which led to the latter declaring that he would "spoil his dancing for him." The same gentleman had a brother in the Bengal Cavalry, a man quite of his own kidney, of which frolicsome pair a story used to be current which may be worth repeating. It was to the effect that they met, at the dinner table of a certain Native regiment's Mess, a pair of cadets who were on their way up-country to join for the first time. These two youngsters amused or, perhaps, bored, the duelling brothers by a warm paternal cordiality and an apparent ignorance of the world, and on this they resolved to practise. After the rest of the company had left, the four with whom the story deals were playing out a rubber, in the course of which Damon and Pythias, being antagonists, got into a wrangle which the wicked seniors assured them required instant solution by single combat. It was faintly objected that the night was too dark, but the brothers overruled the objection with the remark that each of them would hold up a wall-light. Accordingly the party proceeded to the mess-compound; but, on the way, one of the cadets contrived to nudge the other, and they exchanged furtive but meaning looks without being observed. On reaching the field of honour, the intended combatants were placed opposite to each other, with loaded pistols in their hands, at twelve paces, while their friendly advisers took up the other corners, each holding up a light. The word being given, the youngsters fired; a sound of broken glass was heard, and each lamp fell down, extinguished, to the ground, from the simultaneous and well aimed discharge.

A curious picture of manners and character in times of which living witnesses are still extant, is presented by a duel shared in by a gallant Lancer who died a few months ago. Of this encounter a few details will be seen presently. But first, perhaps, one may give a few words to the once famous "Banda duel," which was one of the last between Indian Officers, certain of its features being such as to bring discredit on the system and lead to its final abolition. Allowing for the lapse of time and weakness of memory, it was something of the following nature:—

In a native infantry corps quartered at the dull and unhealthy station of Banda, there was a senior subaltern who, without any extraordinary merit of head or heart, had become a leader of his comrades. He was not braver or more clever than most of them; yet they deferred to an ascendancy

due chiefly to his thick skin and phlegmatic temperament. A youngster had lately joined who, having been well-educated and having entered the service a little later in life than usual, held aloof from this hero-worship, and was generally considered to give himself airs. Little by little he found himself in a minority of one, till the other young fellows proceeded from passive neglect to overt hostility, not discouraged by the mighty L. himself. Another senior, a man who liked to stand well with each and all, alone affected sympathy with poor "Johnny Raw," to borrow a name from a comic book of the period. I fancy he had once acted as Adjutant of the Regiment, and believed himself justified in an amount of interference not dreamt of by the ordinary subalterns. At all events, he told the ill-treated ensign, one day, that his persecutors were encouraged and egged on by L. The young officer, desirous of putting a stop to things that were making his life a burden to him, took the first opportunity of resenting some offensive speech of the man whom he (rightly or wrongly) regarded as the author of his troubles, and an immediate challenge was the result. The meeting took place next morning ; when L., who was a practised hand, lodged a ball in the victim's hip. The matter could not be hushed up ; it was, in fact, reported by the man who had carried the tale out of which it arose, and who seems to have remembered his acting incumbency so far as to have conceived himself a sort of amateur Adjutant. His meddling, however, had one good effect : in the Court Martial which ensued, he was able to give evidence which told in favour of him whom I have called "the victim." Sir Charles Napier was then the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army ; and, on the proceedings coming before him, he ordered that principals and seconds alike should lose their commissions, but reinstated the victim in a subsequent order.* The other three were ruined for life ; and their sad example must have made an important factor in the decay and ultimate extinction of the baneful custom.

The Banda duel was, indeed, an instance of the worst and most abusive applications of duelling, and was an encounter which would not have taken place in the German army, where differences between officers have to be submitted to Courts of Honour. There was no dispute in which any one's character was seriously involved ; and the duel was almost as much of a grim pleasantry, or practical joke, as the lantern-fight of Damon and Pythias. Hence the punishment of L. and his associates did not give a final quietus to

* The remarks of Napier are to be found in a collection of his acute but eccentric Minutes, published, many years ago, by W. Manson of Bombay.

Anglo-Indian duelling. I remember at least one case which occurred quite three years later ; a very short time, in fact, before the Mutiny, in which a very gallant officer was wounded by the son of a Calcutta Barrister, himself a famous man of the pistol.

At a date, however, but little anterior to these cases, duelling was so universally regarded as the appropriate satisfaction of honour amongst Indian officers that generals themselves went out with young officers under their own command.* One amusing instance occurred when Sir Samford Whittingham was General of the Meerut Division. There was a young Ensign H. on leave at Mussooree when Sir Samford was making one of those prolonged inspections of convalescent depôts which officers in similar positions are still in the habit of finding necessary during the hot season. One afternoon the Ensign had been to Rajpore, at the foot of the hills, to partake of a farewell tiffin with a brother-subaltern returning to his station on the plains. The meal had been rather plentiful than prudent ; and, after taking leave of his friend, H. was riding back in the condition described by N.C. officers, giving evidence, as "under the influence of Refreshment." The afternoon being hot, he had taken off his coat and thrown it over his pony's shoulders. His way home lay along the Mall ; and, as he cantered carelessly on that frequented thoroughfare, whom should he come across but his general, attired in choice musti, and escorting a lady ! Thoughtless and unprepared, H. happened to jostle the veteran, who, almost instinctively, hit out with his riding whip and unfortunately caught Mr. H. across the face. H., riding home in a boiling passion, related the incident to his chum, and the two hot-headed youths persuaded themselves that the General must be called on to give satisfaction for the blow. The challenge being duly delivered, Sir Sampson had no hesitation in accepting, in accordance with the views of honour prevalent at the time. This was the chivalric attitude, learned from the France of Louis XIV. A blow having been struck, it was incumbent on the parties to finish the affair by an attempt at mutual slaughter. So the antagonists met, next morning, behind the Camel's Back ; and there the old man received the subaltern's fire. Having done which, he resumed his official position, and ordered the Ensign to his bungalow under close arrest, on the ground that he had appeared, the previous day, in a place of public resort, half dressed and more than half-drunk. In the end H. was allowed to go into the Invalids ; and he lived, for many years after, on a small pension, at Mussooree.

* It may be remembered that the Duke of York, when Commanding-in-Chief at the Horse Guards, fought a duel with Colonel Lennox, afterwards Duke of Richmond.

This was not the only instance of a hostile encounter between a General and a subaltern. The case of the Lancer, already mentioned, was of a more serious origin ; in relating which one must suppress names out of respect for the feelings of many survivors, although the actual parties have passed away : but the facts shall be related without prejudice, as they were universally believed to have occurred. The younger officer had wronged the senior in a way that wounds a man's pride most deeply, though the actual injury may not be so great—namely by relieving him of a wife who, presumably, had ceased to care for her husband. Being challenged to fight, he accepted, with the full intention of receiving the general's fire without return. The meeting was held on the old Race-course at Meerut, and the senior fired with such accuracy as to hit his adversary's cap so that it flew off his head and fell to the ground, a little behind where its wearer was standing with his undischarged pistol in his hand : cavalry officers wore a convex peak of hard leather in front of their caps in those days, and the ball had glanced off without penetrating the obstacle. The Lancer's second was naturally uneasy at this combination of skill and malice on the General's part ; and, seeing that his man had not fired, proposed to terminate the matter by taking the combatants off the field. In this, however, he was violently opposed by the General, who insisted on going on ; and the discussion was closed by the Lancer, who drew himself up and said, with a smile on his handsome face :—"Give the old gentleman his whim." He then folded his arms and prepared to receive another shot ; but the veteran's nerves were upset, and his hand shook so much with excitement that the next shot missed altogether. Both seconds then agreed that the affair could proceed no further, and the General was forced off the field tremulous and pale with unsatisfied anger.

After these high tragedy scenes one's own little experiences are of the feeblest. Nevertheless I shall set out that little, not so much for any direct interest that it may possess, but as an instance of what a power seconds had when duly alive to their own responsibilities. It happened that I was living a somewhat retired life, in the house attached to the Cossipore Foundry, as the guest of Captain Broome of the Artillery, when a brother-officer drove rapidly to the door one afternoon and asked to see me. In a state of some excitement he stated his business : he had been driving all over Calcutta, he said, vainly seeking some one who would carry a challenge in his name to an officer of Native Infantry stationed at Barrackpore. The nature of the offence given was neither clear nor grave ; my visitor and I were by no means intimate ; in fact the military

man was more my friend of the two ; and altogether the affair was anything but attractive. I asked, therefore, if Mr. O. would let me consult my host ; and, on receiving permission, went to Broome who happened to be at home, and on hearing of the matter unhesitatingly assured me that I had no option or alternative but to see a fellow civilian through his trouble. Consenting, therefore, though with some reluctance, I got into Mr. O's buggy and was driven by him to Testelin's Hotel at Barrackpore, where I left my companion to order dinner, while I proceeded in search of the opposite party. The officers of the—th had gone in to dinner, so I proceeded to the Mess-house and sent in my card for him whom I was to call to account ; this gentleman divined my purpose and sent a brother officer to see me in the anteroom. This proved to be a jovial blade, one of those who did not wait for dinner to inspire himself with adventitious gaiety ; in fact, though dinner had but just begun, he was already pretty well primed. With elaborate politeness Captain D.—assured me that his friend would have challenged mine if we had not anticipated him ; there was nothing to be done in the way of apology ; a meeting was the only satisfaction, etc. I let the potvaliant gentleman talk himself out, and then took leave of him with the feeling that nothing could be gained by discussion in present conditions. Returning to the Hotel, I made my report, which seemed to give my companion much more enjoyment than it did myself. For my part, I passed a very bad night, not seeing how to prevent a meeting, and foreseeing, in my anxious mood, nothing less than wounds, death, and dismissal from the service for the whole party. The quarrel was very paltry, and although I had heard only one side, I was by no means confident in the goodness of our cause ; in short, I made up my mind to do all in my power to prevent a meeting. I had, of course, taken the precaution to make my principal understand that he must be bound by whatever I might say or do on his behalf, a condition to which he, perhaps, subscribed the more readily that he supposed that it pointed to his being engaged to fight. Be that as it may, the morning saw me back in cantonments, where the other side, having slept upon it, were in a milder frame ; and we exchanged written explanations which seemed more satisfactory to the seconds than to the parties themselves, but which ended the affair. The story may sound the reverse of heroic, but I look back upon it with complete approval, as a good illustration of a saying of those days, to the effect that the chief danger of duelling was from the seconds.

In France, the native land of the duel, these ideas have not yet taken practical shape ; perhaps in the country the progress

of Democracy has tended to enlarge the sphere in which the custom is almost a religious rite. Every man above the rank of a peasant knows something of the use of the small sword, and seconds incur no risk to themselves, but rather credit and glory. The few duellists who are in deadly earnest may favour the use of the pistol ; but even when a man is shot, the seconds are not punished. Otherwise duels are little more than fencing-bouts without buttons ; quarrels often slight enough can thus be settled in the romantic manner so dear to our lively neighbours, with a minimum of peril to either principal or second. The first drop of blood ends the combat, from which all retire to the nearest Restaurant, and enjoy their breakfast and their pint of claret in good humour and general amity. Of course, there are occasional exceptions.

It is not such a purely decorative usage with the more phlegmatic races of Teutonic blood. The English and their trans-Atlantic cousins, when they did fight, used to mean business ; and the North-Germans, among whom militarism has maintained the custom, are putting the practice under restraint, while some of their newspapers are calling for its entire suppression. There is a story, believed to be authentic, which serves to show the different views and characters of Latin and Germanic races. The Belgians, while using, in good society, the same language and laws as the French, are so much less given to single combat that the custom may be said to be almost unknown among them. But a singular exception is related : it is said that, when the King's sister went out to Mexico with her ill-starred husband, she was accompanied by a body guard of volunteers, consisting of some of the best born young men of the little Kingdom. When they reached their destination, they naturally came into close contact with the officers of the French Expeditionary force who treated them much as Scottish boys might be treated in an English public school, laughed at for their accent, and for alleged solecisms of manner and bearing. This was for some time borne with good-humoured equanimity, until it began to be clear that it was intentional rudeness, likely to grow from bad to worse. At length the Belgians, losing patience, began to call out their ill-bred comrades, and some of the latter were killed in the combats which ensued. The Frenchmen professed great annoyance at this, and accused the others of not playing fair, or following the rules of the game ; but it was replied that those who had not originated the sport could not be blamed for ignorance ; and that, so long as the offence was continued, they should take their own views of the matter. Frenchmen, adds the story, took

the hint ; and the belligerent neighbours thereupon became better friends.

In a similar spirit was conceived the well-known tale of Lord Charles Hamilton's duel at Paris ; when, being debarred the use of pistols against a French opponent, he cut the little man on the shoulder, so that he could not use his sword.

It being pointed out to the Scotchman that rapiers were used only for thrusting, he coolly answered that he had told them at starting that he was not acquainted with the use of the rapier.

The conclusion appears to be that there was in the blood of the British in India something that indisposed them to single combat, unless it was to be a matter of grim and deadly earnest. When public opinion and the authorities allowed of that kind of duel, our youngsters were as ready for them as any officers of the German army could be. Hence the class of "dandies," whose conduct at Waterloo was commended by Wellington and of whom a brilliant picture has lately been drawn by Dr. Doyle in his delightful story, "Rodney Stone." Such men, however, would not lend themselves to the theatricals of the duel *a premier sang*. Alike in England or in India, their feelings would be :—if you gave a man, begad, the trouble of making his will and getting up in the middle of the night to take an infernal cold drive and stand up in a dirty field to be blazed at, why, you must take the consequences and be d—d to you." If this was generally objected to, "it would be better to drop the thing altogether, don't you know?" A few sentences on seconds did the rest ; but it is not understood that, either in England or in India, any evil result has followed. Men of the Home Services had the Crimean War to brace their nerves ; and then, in India, came the terrible year of 1857 to draw the officers together. Soon after that the Indian Army was entirely reorganised ; officers in Native regiments became much fewer ; and, instead of being what a British General bluntly called "the refuse," were taken from among the best : where staff officers used to be sent to regimental posts as a punishment, to grow rusty and ill-tempered in a life of idleness and drink, these posts themselves became staff employ to be gained by competition and carried on in constant labour. The morale of the service rose at once ; and the civilians, barristers, etc., took their tone from the military men who formed the large majority of Anglo-Indian males. The last Anglo-Indian duel was about 1855.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. IV.—PROGRESS OF KNOWLEDGE IN CERTAIN SUBJECTS IN THE LAST HALF-CENTURY.

A JUBILEE-CONTRIBUTION TO THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

IN March 1846, in my tent in the camp of Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, before the walls of Lahore, the capital of the conquered kingdom of the Panjab, I wrote my first contribution to the *Calcutta Review*, which was then in its infancy. My subject was the "Countries between the rivers Satlaj and Jamna," a region where I had dwelt since June, 1844, and in which I had taken part in the great Satlaj-Campaign. Perhaps, of the men who took part in that struggle, no one but Field Marshall Haines and myself has survived to this date. Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, remarking to me that, as I was a Civilian, he could not give me any military honours, mentioned me in his despatches to the India Office, and gave me charge of the virgin District of Hoshiarpur in the Jalandhar Doab, at the age of twenty-five, under the superintendence of John Lawrence, as Commissioner. Oh! the joy of that wondrous period from 1846 to 1849. The first charge of a district is like a man's first love, never to be forgotten. And such a district, half in the lower ranges of the Himalaya, half in the beautiful submontane plains with the clear streams of the rivers Satlaj and Beas flowing on each flank: studded with mangoe groves and feudal castles: occupied by a manly race of agriculturists. I moved out alone in their midst, without guards: the troops were kept within the cantonments: here was learnt the great lesson

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

The iron hand in the velvet-glove: the soft word, and the strong order, and the instant obedience: the Court of the Ruler held in the mangoe groves, where all were welcome: the evenings spent with the people, far from the sound of the English language, and the din of cities. And, when the second trouble, the Panjab war broke out in 1849, I had my reward as regards my own district, for vain were the attempts to induce a well-satisfied people to join a rebellion which ended in the entire annexation of the Panjab. It was then that I issued the following proclamation which has often since been quoted—

LETTER OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER AND SUPERINTENDENT OF THE DISTRICT OF HOSHYARPUR, IN THE PANJAB, TO ALL THE PRINCIPAL LANDOWNERS IN THE DISTRICT, SENT BY SPECIAL MESSENGER TO EACH SEPARATELY.

I expect, and am fully confident, that you are in your own villages, and have kept clear of any rebellion. If any of your relations have joined the rebels, write to them to come back before blood is shed : if they do so, their fault will be forgiven. Consider, that I have in person visited every one of your villages, and I know the position of every one of you : what is your injury I consider mine : what is gain to you I consider my gain. The rule of the British is in favour of the agriculturist. If your lands are heavily assessed, tell me so, and I will relieve you : if you have any grievance, let me know it, and I will try to remove it : if you have any plans, let me know them, and I will give you my advice : *if you will excite rebellion, as I live I will severely punish you.* I have ruled this district three years by the sole agency of the pen, and, if necessary, I will rule it by the sword. God forbid that matters should come to that. This trouble affects your families and your prosperity. The Rajas of the country get up the disturbance, but it is the landholders whose lands are plundered. Consider what I have said, and talk it over with your relations, and bring all back from rebellion, and when my camp comes in your neighbourhood, attend at once in person, and tell those who have joined the rebellion to return to me, as children who have committed a fault, return to their fathers, and their faults will be forgiven them. Let this be known in the valley of Jeswan, and be of good cheer. In two days I shall be in the midst of you with a force which you will be unable to resist.

Camp Hajipur, Nov. 28, 1848.

Since that I have contributed forty-two (42) articles to the *Review* on every sort of subject. I attach a list to the last page of this my Jubilee, and probably my last, contribution, for at seventy-five years of age we are not as we were at twenty-five, "Consule Planco," or, as we interpret it, the time of Dalhousie and Lawrence. I have the highest opinion of the value of this periodical, and of the ability with which it has, under its different Editors, been conducted for half a century. Many of those who contributed to its pages, have been my dearest friends, from the days of Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Herbert Edwards, Sir John Kaye, Sir William Muir, (still living) to the present period. Young men of this generation have the priceless advantage of being able to inform themselves of what their predecessors said, did, or thought, and thus a continuity of purpose is maintained. Nothing in my old age strikes me more than the vast strides, which we have made in every branch of knowledge of all time since the creation, and in every part of the world. In 1843 I was a companion of Professor Lepsius of Berlin, when he was making his earliest excavations at the Pyramids in Egypt, and this was the dawn of Egyptology : I conversed with Major Henry Rawlinson, in 1844, in Calcutta, on his way to Baghdad, with the key of the great

Mesopotamian treasure-house in his brain : this was the dark hour before the dawn of Assyriology, and the study of the cuneiform form of writing. In the same year, at Banáras, I heard with wonder of the Asöka Tablets, and of the records on rocks of ancient India : there were no Telegraphs, Photographs, Railways, Electricity, Chloroform, and many other ordinary scientific contrivances then. Africa and Oceania were merely Geographical expressions then : the classification of languages was unknown : the scientific testing of Historical Documents, now called the higher criticism, had not been developed : people were content with the interpretations and opinions of their grandmothers, and had an unlimited power of feeble acquiescence and wholesale swallowing. A healthy feeling of mistrust now exists, and a desire to know the "how," and the "why," and the "when," of each historical document. The Round World has been thrown open, and we see dimly fifteen hundred millions of men like ourselves moving on the surface, and, by facts, inductions, and reasonable theories, we are led on to believe that they have been there in their succeeding generations for ten thousand years or more from the present date, men of like passions as ourselves and like desires : waging war and committing acts of cruelty : as convinced as we are ourselves of the absolute truth of their religious conceptions and moral laws ; erecting magnificent monuments ; leaving behind them imperishable literary memorials of their pride and their greatness, and of their groping into the impenetrable darkness of the past and future ; composing great poems which can never die and grand philosophic treatises, which no time can gainsay ; calling to us across the abyss of thousands of years.

Years ago I have fallen by chance on treatises, such as Herbert Spencer's classification of the sciences, which have stirred me as I read them in my solitary canvas-tent under the mango-groves in my district, far away from the daily newspaper and the strife of men. I put these lines together on the chance of their falling under the eye of some one young enough to be my grandson, that he may ken what was the orbit of studies of one of the ancient men who helped to make India, in his declining years, after he had got back to his home.

I. The Religious Conceptions of Mankind.

II. The form of speech or languages spoken by mankind.

Both these were congenital gifts of the Creator to the creatures whom He made by His own will, and for His own pleasure.

III. Anthropology in all its branches. The proper study of mankind is man.

IV. Higher criticism of all ancient documents with no possible exceptions.

- V. Archæological Excavations in India, Persia, Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Greece, Central America.
- VI. Geography in all its branches, all over the round world.
- VII. History.
- VIII. Tests applied to the foundations of History.

I. THE RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS OF MANKIND.

The science, of philosophy, or religion has come into existence during the last half century: I remember that, in 1844, a Secretary to the Government objected to the word Religion being applied to any other conception or cult, except the Christian: all others were, in a general way, though the centre of the hopes in this world and the next, and the guide of life, of millions, consigned to Satan. When the population of the round world became dimly known, it was clear that the strong man was, and had been since the creation of the world, out of possession of his own house, if any such views were true, for during the eight thousand years which preceded the Christian era, the Hebrews, about five millions, were credited as the sole representatives of a true religion in the older world, and their Scriptures as the only Sacred Books which had been written before Anno Domini.

All this has changed now: the long series of the Sacred Books of the East has revealed new worlds. Let me pass the religious conceptions of the ancient world before the great epoch of the Incarnation under review: There are two main divisions:—

I. Animising, or worship of spirits, known as Nature Worship.

II. Ethical conception, or Book-Religions.

We may pass over the first, as a disappearing phenomenon, and sub-divide the latter:—

I. DEAD CONCEPTIONS.

- (1) Egyptian.
- (2) Babylonian.
- (3) Assyrian.
- (4) Greeco-Roman,
- (5) Teutonic, Keltic, and Slavonic.
- (6) Semitic.
- (7) Etruscan, and several others.

II. LIVING CONCEPTIONS.

- (1) Brahmanism.
- (2) Zoroastrianism.
- (3) Judaism.

- (4) Buddhism.
- (5) Jainism.
- (6) Confucianism.
- (7) Taoism.
- (8) Shintoism.
- (9) Animism, in many moribund forms, in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania.

We know all about these wonderful phenomena now ; we knew nothing at the period at which the *Calcutta Review* commenced ; or, if we knew anything, it was incorrect or incomplete, seen darkly through the smoked glass of prejudice and ignorance : but all now is as clear as day. We have discovered that the men of ancient days, Roman, Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian, Zoroastrian, Brahman, Buddhist, Confucianist, who have left such indelible marks in the history of the world by their buildings and their writings, which the hand of time has spared, were not fools, or fanatics, or barbarians, devoid of the religious sense, but, according to the measure of their gifts and opportunities, wise, thoughtful, pious, and seeking after holiness according to the measure of their simple ideas, and not unconscious of, or regardless of, a future of rewards and punishments. Such phenomena of the human intellect should not be treated with contempt. They represent the state in which it pleased the All-wise Controller to allow the great, powerful and gifted races of those countries to remain for a time, to tarry His leisure, till, in the fulness of time, He sent His own Son. Whatever the Pietists of Europe may say in their ignorance and spiritual pride, He loved *all* His poor creatures then, as He does now. These are the lessons, which some of us have learnt in the last half century :—

“ Full many a heathen lived out holy days,
 “ Died for his Altar, for his country strove !
 “ Spake hymns heaven-prompted, full of prayer and praise,
 “ And words of Wisdom, Piety, and Love.
 “ Fell not Thy shadow, Lord, on those behind,
 “ When on the Cross Thou suffered for Mankind ?”

The world, indeed, would have been poorer, if the words of Plato, Zoroaster, the Hindu Sages, Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Buddha, and many a Papyrus, Stela, and Clay-brick from the libraries of Egypt and Mesopotamia had perished, or remained buried.

II. THE FORMS OF SPEECH SPOKEN BY MANKIND.

The second congenital gift of God to man, as a means of communicating with fellow creatures. No tribe has been found so low in culture as to be unable to convey ideas by articulate sound, and the power is exercised unconsciously. I came across a Grammar of the Hebrew Language published at the

close of the last century at Edinbro', the author of which, in his preface, complacently remarks that there are about (80) eighty languages in the world, and that all were derived from the Hebrew. It is well on all matters to speak with reserve, subject to correction by the men of the next generation ; but, as far as an opinion can be formed, based on collected facts, there are at this moment about two thousand (2,000) forms of speech mutually unintelligible, call them by what name you please, language, dialect, patois, jargon ; and no one who has studied the subject, can hesitate to consign the idea of a common seed-plot for all languages to the waste-paper-basket : it might as well be asserted that all mankind, white, black, brown, yellow and red, with different physical details of structure, came from one common parent. Not only is there an essential difference in word-lore, but such a contrariety in structure, and sentence-lore, as indicates an entirely different logical conception of the mode of conveying ideas. Certain great linguistic families or groups have been built up ; some languages are isolated, the sole survivors of an extinct family.

Passing on to the great human invention of expressing ideas not only by word, but by symbols portrayed on clay, metal, leaves, and papyrus, we find that the vast numerical majority of mankind has, even in the 19th century, never attained to this degree of acquired knowledge, and such nations as have attained to it, in the early period of the human race, have exercised the power in a three-fold manner :—

- I. By ideographic pictures.
- II. By syllabic cuneiform symbols.
- III. By alphabetic symbols of single sounds.

The second category is totally extinct ; the first is represented by the Monosyllabic Ideograms of the Chinese ; the third, in a multiform variety of the same principle, is spread over the world, conquering and to conquer. We can watch the death of languages, like the fall of the leaves from the trees in Autumn. Some more powerful and more highly developed form of speech treads out a poor feeble patois, and at the same time there is a birth of new languages of a mixed or Creole character, the result of the combination of European and non-European elements.

All this has been revealed to us in the last half century, though there are still problems which require a solution, and theories which have to be stiffened by the lapse of time and accumulation of experience.

III. ANTHROPOLOGY.

The new Oxford Dictionary of the English language thus defines this pure Greek word of the time of Aristotle :—

- (1) The science of man, or of mankind in the widest sense

(2) The science of the Nature of man, embracing human Physiology and Psychology, and their mutual bearing.

(3) The study of man as an animal, investigating the position of man zoologically, his "evolution" and history as a race of animated beings.

The subject is inexhaustible, and full of intense interest. As we pass down the galleries of the British Museum, or the Oxford Museum, we see what man was in his savage or barbarian state in different parts of the world; we read of his religious conceptions, his ethics, his customs, his habitations, his physical features, his skull, his hair, the colour of his skin: yet he is still man, differing by his congenital attributes from the beasts around him, and the student is led on to speculate on the antiquity of man, and we find evidence of him in pre-historic Archæology, in the Cave Period, the Drift Period, and passing through the different stages of development of civilization.

All this knowledge has been acquired in the last half century. It raises a smile of pity to think of the chronological theories of good Archbishop Usher, and his date of 4,000 B.C. for the creation of man: Geological researches tell another story.

IV. HIGHER CRITICISM OF ALL ANCIENT DOCUMENTS WITH NO EXCEPTIONS WHATEVER.

The lower criticism confines itself to the text of ancient documents: the higher criticism considers the context, and the reasonable difficulties which arise to every intelligent mind in the study of the contents of the document. When the reputed Author of a book in his last chapter describes his own death and funeral obsequies, the higher critic demurs, and cannot pass over in silence the fact of an event being recorded in a book of reputed date, which is proved by good evidence to have taken place centuries later.

Niebuhr, the great German scholar, who died in 1831, led the way in his handling of the Roman legends; he was followed by Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who died in 1842. It seemed like a great enfranchisement of the human intellect, and the same process was applied to other histories, even to those bearing the honoured names of Herodotus and Thucydides. A further extension of the principle has destroyed the unique dignity extended without inquiry to Homer. The same principles have been unsparingly applied to all the Sacred Books of the ancient nations, and at last the time came when the books of the Hebrews must be submitted to the same ordeal. Here a sensitive portion of the modern believer was touched: he could readily assent to any of above-noted criticisms, however hard and painful to heathen believers, if they were based on accurate scholarship, and sound logical reasons, and he could not

pretend that a document of whatever date, or however long a pedigree, was anything but a representation of human industry ; but, when it came to offend his prejudices in his own particular sphere, loud was his outcry ; yet still the work goes on : if it be true, Truth must conquer. No true religion can afford, in the nineteenth century, to be supported by a lie, a fabrication, a false legendary report, a manifest interpolation, a defiance of all canons of literature.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS.

Archæology is no longer a mere fad, or dilettante amusement, but has become essentially practical, and the life occupation of serious, learned, and highly trained excavators ; and the results have been that a wonderful light has been thrown on the history of ancient pre-historic nations. To know something of such results is an indispensable component part of a liberal education. It is a wonderful thought, how, under the combined scientific researches of the great European nations, and the citizens of the United States, Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Etruria, and Central America, have given up treasures exceeding the wildest dreams of the most enterprising worshippers of antiquity. The glory of Pompeii and Herculaneum is indeed dimmed when brought into juxtaposition with Olympia and Mykenæ.

Monumental and epoch making works have been published detailing the results of the excavations ; Museums are filled with specimens of the art and industry of man which had been buried in the earth for many centuries. The scanty outlines of History which the Greeks and Romans handed down to us, have been filled in, and we stand face to face with men and women whose very names had been forgotten, and yet who, in their time, had done deeds which ought never to have died. It seems to have been the cold stern policy of the Roman nation to crush out the civilization of the nations which preceded it, and blot their very existence out of the memory of man. Such was the fate of the Etruscan, Carthaginian, Greek, Syrian, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian nations : they were not only conquered, and that was a fair game, which they had played themselves in their own time, but the waters of Lethe passed over all those features in their individual existences, which are described in this essay—religious conceptions, languages, customs, written documents, or engraved monuments, geographical features, historical incidents, coins, pottery, architectural remains, and it is only during the last fifty years that tardy justice has been done, and the deepest sympathy has been raised with the ever multiplying evidences of the greatness of those ancient nations, their wisdom, their

capacity, and innate goodness. A voice seems to cry from the tomb, from the ruined palace, from the desecrated place of worship : " We were men, men of like passions, like powers, " like sense of His Morality, like Faith in a Creator, like expectation of Life beyond the grave as yourselves : we led " the way in the great triumphant path of human development : " we showed the way to pile up imperishable buildings like " the pyramids : we invented the methods of conveying sound " by the medium of symbols to material substance : we invented and practised the art of writing : you have only slavishly " imitated our methods, distorting them to suit your miserable " requirements : we designed them to suit the genius of our form " of speech, and to chronicle our own ideas. Thousands of " years have passed away, and yet we have lived through the " great abyss of time : will anything which has come out of " the boasting Europe, the so-called heir of all the ages, survive " eight or nine thousand years, when the Deluge has closed " over you ? "

VI. GEOGRAPHY.

When I left Eton College, as Captain of the Oppidans in 1840, I used an Eton School atlas of the old type, which has survived in my book-case to this day : I knew where Athens, Rome and Carthage were, and the supposed route of Alexander the Great, and the pass of the Alps which Hannibal made use of ; but the line of public school teaching was drawn there. When I made my first European tour in 1841, I was surprised to visit Berlin, Vienna, and Munich, and hear of the geography of Europe : when I reached India, and travelled in a palanquin from Calcutta to Benares, Delhi, and Ambala, I practically learnt the geography and topography of India. Geography was not taught then as a Science : there was no Geographical Society : the teachers of schools could not teach what they did not know themselves. As to the geography of Asia, Africa and America, it was a sealed book, and Oceania had not come into existence. The majority of mankind were only a little in advance of the contemporaries of the Apostles, who did not hesitate to call Asia Minor, Syria, and the Eastern parts of the Mediterranean *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, the inhabited world, (Acts XI. 28), or the " regions under Heaven " (Acts II. 5).

A great change has happened since then : the great Round World has been discovered. Africa is no longer a blank on the map : the Nile has been traced to its unknown source, and the Niger and the Kongo : the Mountains of the Moon have been spotted, and the teacher of geography is on the war path, and the subject is so fascinating, that hundreds gather together in great halls to hear lectures, sometimes from the very lips of a great explorer. We can imagine poor old Herodotus

asking the priests in Egypt whence the Nile came. Centuries later, no doubt, the Emperor Hadrian asked the same question, and got the same vague answers. If there is still something to find out in the Arctic and Antarctic Circles, it is well ; for it is a test of manhood to leave nothing undiscovered.

Geographical knowledge naturally divides itself into certain needs. I. Physical, revealing all the wonders of the conformation of land and water. II. Political Geography follows : the boundaries and populations of kingdoms. III. Then follow the details of the Languages which they speak, and the religious conceptions which they profess, and the ancient customs to which they cleave. IV. Then commercial Geography tells us of the raw and manufactured products of each region, the gold, silver, opium, saltpetre, and other contributions which each country makes to the wealth of the world : a moderate sized volume for each portion of the continent tells us all this in a general way ; but volumes are required to exhaust the subject.

Cartography has taken new developments : maps have risen above the most sanguine conception, and the raised maps and even models of the Globe, bring the subject home.

VII. HISTORY.

A few words are sufficient : perhaps the historian still develops too much of a bias in one particular direction, allowing himself to regard facts which happened long ago from the point of view of the nineteenth century, and unconsciously colouring the policy of past ages with the colours of the historian ; his proclivities, and weaknesses. This is peculiarly the case in the history of new empires such as modern India : a new process has been proposed by Lord Acton at Cambridge, by which the causes and effects of certain tendencies in man at different periods should be traced during the succeeding centuries independently of national idiosyncracies, boastings, and humiliations, in fact a real philosophy of the history of mankind. What is liberty ? Is it an absolute moral right of all mankind to be obtained for oneself at any cost, and respected in others at any sacrifice ? Or is it only a selfish desire on the part of the nation which is strong, to secure liberty for itself, and to do the best to deprive weaker nations of their liberty ? Does not the history of Great Britain require being written in a philosophic spirit, a nation jealous of its own Liberty, ready to avenge any drop of blood of its own citizens, and yet ready to destroy the liberty of other nations, slay innocent and unoffending barbarians in Asia, Africa, and Oceania, or America for the mere purpose of self aggrandisement, or finding a new market for Lancashire manufactures ?

"It is well to have a Giant's strength,
 "But not to use it as a Giant."

How will posterity judge the conduct of Great Britain? We pass hard judgment on the monarchs of Mesopotamia and Egypt, on Attila, Genghis Khan, and Tamerlane. They knew no better: Of what meaning is Christianity, if the tribes of South Africa, East Africa and West Africa are slaughtered and plundered merely to enhance the dividend of a Chartered Company?

"In the name of the Prophet, figs," cries the Mahometan fruitseller at Smyrna and Damascus.

"In the name of religion and civilization, murder, and confiscation of property" cries the Christian shareholder, led on by a so-called Christian land-pirate.

VIII. TESTS APPLIED TO THE FOUNDATION OF HISTORY.

When the Father of History, Herodotus, went down into Egypt, ignorant of the language, and with the credulous spirit of his age, he picked up the legends of the country from the Priests and intelligent wayfarers whom he met. Everything went down into his notebook, was swallowed, digested, and handed down to posterity in the marvellous beauty of his Ionic Greek. In the same spirit, the travelling M. P. makes a winter tour in British India, and forms an opinion on the administration of that country picked up from the "intelligent" man met on the Railway platform, who did not wish his name to be mentioned; from the young English-speaking native collegian, who spoke like Macaulay or Dr. Johnson; from the Indigo planter, who complained that he was not allowed to persecute the cultivators; from the anti-opium and anti-liquor fanatic, and from the rabid native papers.

Fortunately other tests are supplied. I have already alluded to Geography. Things contrary to Physical Geography were impossible then, as they are now. Of History ancient men had a very strange idea. The author of Deuteronomy, whatever may be his date, invites the Hebrew to "ask of the days that are past;" but it is difficult to say in what quarter they could have applied, and how they would have got a reply, as they had no records of their own of an earlier date than Moses, and even if they could have read the great Egyptian inscriptions, they would have learnt very little of any country except Egypt and the countries with which Egypt made war, and a great deal of the favour shown by Egyptian gods to Egyptian Kings.

These inscriptions are now copied and translated, and similar records of antiquity have been found in Mesopotamia,

Arabia, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and in fact everywhere except in Palestine, which has contributed one inscription only of the date of King Hezekiah. The importance of inscriptions in India is very great, as in the voluminous literature of the Indians History is not represented.

Numismatics have also come to the assistance of the Historian, though at a later period, and other works of art such as Pottery, Carvings, Architectural remains, bricks bearing the stamp of the monarch who ordered the erection of the building. The evidence of Pottery is of the utmost importance, as in the late excavations in Lachish in Palestine it was found that a succession of cities had been erected on the same mound one upon the other, but differentiated by the fragments of pottery found in each.

These subsidiary survivals of past generations have enabled trained, cautious, and self-restrained students and excavators to recreate a past which has been buried for many thousand years.

"Artem, quæ latuit Græcos, latuitque Latinos "

"Nostrorum é tumulo suscitât ingenium. "

CONCLUSION.

It is well for each of us, as we turn over in this vast ocean of acquired knowledge and cautious speculation, that we cry out :—

"Domine illumina nos, ut

"Videamus clarè, " et loquamur humiliter,

"Scribamus Sapienter," et restrictè !

It is of no use to resist the incoming flood of truth, or confine its actions to one branch of human knowledge, and shut it out from others.

Μεγάλη ἡ Ἀληθεία καὶ ὑπερῖσχει

Pilate asked "what is truth," and got no answer *then* : nor can we find any certain road nineteen centuries later. We read in the Gospel of John : "Sanctify them through Thy Truth ; Thy word is Truth." But amidst the accretions of superstition, and the envelopments of gross, interested mediæval ignorance, how can we get at the precious ore, except by careful and humble search, unbiased investigations, and strictly logical conclusions, strengthened by prayer for spiritual guidance ; for the desire for knowledge, the methods to attain knowledge, the intellect to appreciate and record knowledge are all

Δώρα τοῦ Θεοῦ,

to be used for His glory and the benefit of mankind.

It is obvious that the orbit of inquiry and study above sketched is but a small section of the great treasure-house of piled up knowledge. I have lived on intimate terms with men who had other outlets of research, Astronomy, Geology,

Zoology, Chemistry, Botany, Geometry, and such like, which were sealed subjects to me ; but I heard from their lips, or read in their reports, of progress, progress everywhere. I witnessed lives devoted to Arts, something to my mind very inferior, Music, Painting, Sculpture, Military and Naval experiences, and such like. I witnessed many more throwing away their lives and other faculties in field sports and fleeting amusements, merely to kill the passing hour.

But for the steady, continuous, and thorough labour of a host of scholars of all nationalities during the last half century, it would not have been possible for the illustrious scholar, Hofrath G. Buhler of Vienna, to undertake with every reasonable promise of success the gigantic enterprise of compiling "an Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research, the first attempt at a complete, systematic and concise summary of the vast field of Indian languages, religions, history, antiquities and art, as a book of reference for students," and a new point of departure for the further research of the twentieth century.

Those, who live into that epoch, may hope to know something. We men of the nineteenth century have been, and are still, groping in the dark. Upwards of thirty scholars of various nationalities have undertaken to co-operate to build up this great edifice, portions in the German, and portions in the English language. Natives of British India have not been found wanting in this great enterprise. There will be three volumes. I. General languages. II. Literature and history. III. Religions ; Secular Sciences ; Art. In each of these great sections of the great subject there are subordinate sub-divisions, exhausting the whole orbit which I have attempted to illustrate, as regards British India. The example will, no doubt, be followed as regards other regions of the great World now thrown open in its entirety : it is amusing to find the word "World," or "Mundus," or even "the earth," applied by some to the narrow section of the great Globe which has come within their own limited ken. Circumstances have changed with the last half century, and there is geographically little or nothing more to discover.

Laus Deo.

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2	1847	Jalandhar Doab.
3	1852	Palestine and Lebanon.
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8	1858	A District during a Rebellion.
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10	"	Examination-System. "Detur digniori."
11	"	Non-Regulation-Justice.
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40	1890	International Congresses, No. 5.
41	1893	Opium-Trade with China, 1893.
42	1894	The Ancient Religions of the World.

ART. V.—THE STERNER ASPECTS OF NAIR LIFE.

THERE is not in the whole Madras Presidency a district more remarkable from an antiquarian point of view than Malabar. Its long stretch of sea-washed and mountain-locked landscape affords features, topographical and historical, fascinating alike to the archæologist and the sightseer. Unparalleled in rural grandeur and beauty of scenery as is this vast martial amphitheatre, there is not a spot in it but has its heroic associations. The bulk of its inhabitants are the Nairs, who differ widely in marriage, home-life, and inheritance from other communities, and they form in every way, and have remained to this day, a separate and distinct people. A military class devoted to arms, the martial spirit for which they were justly celebrated is a thing of the past; thin in numbers and the lords of the country formerly, they at the present day are comparatively poor, have much increased in numbers, and are quite fallen as a military nobility. They are, in a word, the Sudras *par excellence* of Malabar. A race *sui generis* and supreme, they have been described as "Rajputs in the rough." They possessed a council of representatives and a Constitution; and their functions in the body politic—of the *eye*, the *hand*, and the *order* as the *Keralalpathi* tersely mentions them—were of an essentially protective character. They were the appointed guardians of the public weal: they wielded in the commonwealth the distinctive privileges of the Kshatriya—prevented their rights from being curtailed, never suffered them to fall into disuse. These exclusive privileges of theirs, added to their close bond of union—the peculiar, in some respects almost unshastraic, relationship—with the Nambudri Brahmins of Malabar, it may be noted, point to their unmistakable pre-eminence. All I propose in this paper is to bring before the reader a few of the sterner aspects of their old rough-and-ready life.

In general everyday life, the Nair greatly resembled the Scottish Borderer of the Middle Ages. The former loving adventure and a free life, soldier by proclivity and always on the warpath, lived and moved and had his being as a fighter; while the latter—raider and cattle-stealer that he was—vented his ill-blood in constant moss-trooping forays against the Southern English. As in the "North Countrie," so in Old Malabar, blood-feuds and mortal combats were the rule rather than the exception: in truth, the common saying ran that "the slain rests in the yard of the slayer." For peaceful in private life the Nair by no means was. He invariably carried arms, kept a sharp look-out for those who had offended him, and thirsted

for revenge. Assassinations thus were frequent; there were often surprises and scuffles, and sometimes contests in the open field. In passing through a crowd, he bore his head high, struck his sword upon his target, and, in the grand style, called out, not simply to obtain a clear passage quickly, but also to make known his rank and establish his dignity. When a man was slain, the duty devolved on his kith and kin to be avenged on the slayer or a member of his family. Thus the Nair hostages on board De Gama's ships; on being apprised of the bloody fate in store for them, as the Zamorin had treacherously detained the Portuguese commander on shore, are recorded to have said:—"Yes,* there they were, and if any harm were done to the ambassador on shore, the Portuguese might cut off their heads if they pleased, for they were men who had brothers and relations on shore who would revenge their deaths even upon the person of the King."

Duels (*ankam*.)† were not uncommon. They were the result of insult shown or injury done to a party by another, such conduct generally rendering a meeting in the village duel-ground (*anka-kaliri*) indispensable. The chief of the locality acted as umpire. Before him sums of money were set down as battle-wager. A long training and preparation (sometimes, it is said, for twelve years) preceded the day of battle. Trial by battle was sometimes had recourse to as a form of ordeal for settling disputes. Such combats were a royal privilege; as such they had always to be paid for by each combatant, although sometimes, in their stead, hired champions were engaged to fight. "The‡ men who fought were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel—they were their champions. It was essential that one should fall, and so both men settled all their worldly affairs before the day of combat." Disputes as to the right of way and points of precedence, which gave rise to interminable quarrels, afforded a fruitful source of duelling in the early Portuguese epoch. The contest at one time ran so high and assumed such consequence, says Visscher,§ that the rival chieftains arranged to terminate it by a formal combat, in which the Portuguese champion won. The *lex talionis* deeply permeated all relations of Nair social life; and satisfaction for every insult and injury, as amongst the Malays, was held a point of honour amongst them.

The old Portuguese records || furnish an account of a battle fought at Cochin in about 1519. The combatants were Nair chieftains, adherents of the Zamorin and the Cochin Rajah respectively. These latter, indeed, were bitterly opposed to

* See Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India*.

† Logan's *District Manual*.

‡ Logan's *Malabar Manual*.

§ *Letters from Malabar*.

|| See *Keralapalama*.

each other, and were at open war at this period. Sequera, with 500 Portuguese, was on the spot to witness the combat. "This here is the only means left us to settle the dispute" greeted the combatants, and they rushed straightway to battle. The fight had proceeded a little when a Portuguese who had watched the turn affairs had taken, sought permission to side with one faction. He had turned the tables; but the other side saw this, and their archers poured forth volleys of darts on the defenceless Portuguese, who thereupon took to their heels and made straight for their boats. *Puli-ankam*, or fighting with tigers, is an institution peculiar to Old Malabar. In thrilling excitement and savage hardihood, no known feat of peril or bloody exercise was to be compared to this curious pastime. The fierce gladiatorial fights of ancient Rome furnished the nearest parallel to it. The combatants were, of course, skilled athletes, and they were trained up and taught to revel in this dangerous exercise. Many well-known athletes were reputed adepts in it; men like the celebrated Pyche Rajah, who is said to have indulged in it with impunity. A common method of defence in fencing may here be noted. The fencer first provided himself with a stick twelve spans in length (*pantiran*). By whirling this about rapidly fore and aft, above and laterally, he was able to hold an opponent at bay with astonishing ease, and parry hits and ward off strokes aimed at him on all sides.

A remarkable duel forms the subject of the well-known *Thachóli Pât*. This ballad, as its name implies, commemorates the exploits of the redoubtable hero, the keen athlete and incomparable swordsman, Thachóli Othénan. Despite its crude language and undefined metre, the ballad, whose authorship is unknown, is full of pathos and fire, and possesses, withal, an elemental freshness and vigour, a homeliness of manner and charm of effect, peculiar to itself. Noble and spirited ballads which give faithful presentments of the more striking episodes in the annals of Border life, or those known as the Robin Hood cycle, which recount the many adventures of the yeoman-hero and his "merry men," form no mean repertoires of national tradition and folklore. The chief interest of the Thachóli ballad, likewise, consists in its expression of the popular mind, the old-world flavour of the sentiments, manners, and feelings therein revealed, and the picturesque glimpses it affords of national types of character, now obsolete, and of social customs, laws and observances, now very much forgotten. It takes you out of yourself and wafts you, as if by an enchanter's wand, from this real working-day world of us all to its old-world substitute—a romantic yet persuasive world, a stirring world of high emprise and bloody war, and the ironic course of destiny.

The ballad, as has been said, gives (and gives with much quaintness of detail) the description of a duel—the last and crowning episode, in fact, of Othénan's life. The hero, dressed and equipped, and preceded by Squire Cháppan, armed with a lance made of the best cocoanut tree, proceeds to the temple of the Lókanár goddess. He goes there to see the *kávút* festival, accompanied by a large retinue. The temple is fenced with men on all sides, and gathered in its precincts are the ten thousand Nairs and the Princes of the four palaces. Our hero no sooner takes his seat on a platform under the banyan-tree—his wonted seat—than the Mathilúr Kurikal, with his disciples, also occupy the Thachóli's platform. The affront stings Othénan to the quick. Incensed with wrath, he bespeaks his squire to fetch his silver-handled gun. He threatens to shoot the Mathilúr peacock and all its chicks. The ballad goes on to recount how thereon the Kurikal shouts loud and challenges Thachóli Méppayil Kunti Othénan to single combat; how the latter is rebuked by his brother Kóma Kurup for his rashness, as he calls it, in "throwing a pot at a mountain," the futile remonstrance merely eliciting the rejoinder: "Am I not a man like him, too?"; and how after devotion to family gods and blessings sought of his elders and offerings made to the Lókanár goddess, he sets out with his many friends to the field of combat. Arrived there, he rushes into the arena, like a gamecock running to fight, worsts his adversary and triumphantly takes his sword seven times. But he is not left alone to glory in his victory. For, on returning to search for a dagger he has dropped on the field, he is treacherously shot by his enemy. In this extremity he never loses presence of mind, and does not allow his mean foe to escape. He braves death like the hero that he is, remains cool to the end, and encourages his weeping brother.

Othénan has been justly called the Robin Hood of Malabar, and many are the stories extant concerning him. There is little doubt that he was a man of dauntless courage and consummate address in arms, endowed with herculean strength, one who probably knew, certainly made, no difference between *meum* and *tuum*. I may mention one well-known tradition which represents him as having once jumped over a well 66 feet in circumference to escape capture by his pursuers. This well—still in capital preservation—is to this day pointed out with pardonable pride by the people of the Kadattanád locality. Lovers of legendary lore will recognize in Robin Hood's life, incidents very like those recorded concerning his rival compeer. Indeed, the *Thacholi Pât* must prove a happy hunting-ground to zealous antiquaries who, Fluellin-like, discover rivers in Macedon and Monmouth. Thus Othénan, all his life pursued

and harassed by the followers of the Kadattanád Raja, is treacherously shot; while the outlaw, his footsteps dogged by Sheriff's men, is bled to death betrayed by a Prioress. Both face death like brave men—the former, with touching heroism asking his disconsolate brother: "Have ye heard folk die of a bullet in the forehead?"; the latter, chivalrous to the last, refusing Little John permission to burn down the Hall and all its nuns—

"I never hurt fair maid in all my time
Nor at my end shall it be."

The descendants of Thachóli Othénan to this day continue as the tenants and vassals of the Kadattanád Raja.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR,
Triplicane, Madras.

ART. VI.—STUDIES IN THE VEDANTA.

The Teaching of Re-birth.

I. THE IDEA OF REINCARNATION IN WESTERN THOUGHT.

A VERY noteworthy fact, in the world of modern thought, is the quite recent appearance among us of the idea of rebirth or reincarnation, as a subject of reasonable speculation, a very probable theory; a seemingly simple and natural solution of many complex and difficult problems of life ; in a word, reincarnation as an idea to be seriously considered, and very probably accepted, as one of the working hypotheses of life.

There is, of course, no absolute novelty in the idea of reincarnation, of the persistence and gradual development of the individual through a series of lives. It has no absolute novelty in Europe, even Europe of the last hundred years. To touch on only one or two salient points in the past history of this idea, so far as it has influenced western thought :

The doctrine of transmigration or reincarnation, was, in Greece, known as metempsychosis. It was rather the teaching of the philosophers, and, even more markedly, of the Mysteries, and many authorities consider it likely that the Hellenic thinkers drew the idea from Egypt or India. It is still a moot point whether Thales or Pherecydes, the teacher of Pythagoras, was the first of the Greeks to propound this doctrine ; but it is certainly to the strong and masterful individuality of Pythagoras that its acceptance was due, and it is at least in conformity with tradition to suppose that Pythagoras obtained his teaching from Eastern, probably Egyptian, sources. In view of this probability, we may glance for a moment at the Egyptian doctrine. The old Egyptians held that the human race originated after the pure Gods and spirits had left the earth, because the dæmons had revolted against them, and thus incurred sin. In order to give the dæmons an opportunity to expiate their guilt, the Gods formed earthly bodies which the dæmons were condemned to inhabit, so that, by expiations in these bodies, they might regain their original purity. The dæmons, thus incarnated in earthly bodies, are the human race. The souls of men are, therefore, of equal origin, in time and essence, with the Gods, and our terrestrial life is not an end in itself, but the means of purification for the soul, through which it may return to the inborn divinity from which it has fallen. The whole Egyptian sacred polity was governed by this view of life, and the central figure in the Egyptian religion was Osiris, in whose palace the soul was

tried after death, to ascertain whether its purification was complete. Failing this, the soul was condemned to return to the earth, to renew the process of purging and expiation. But if the judge of the dead finds that no sin remains to be wiped out, the soul gradually ascends through the various celestial regions, to the highest abodes of the pure spirits and Gods, its divinity perfectly regained.

After Pythagoras, the doctrine of rebirth was treated by Plato; and Goldstücker conjectures that Plato was indebted to the philosophers of India for his teaching, as explained in several of the dialogues, notably in *Phædros*, and the story of *Er* in the tenth book of the *Republic*, where the question of the memory of past births is dealt with, in much the same spirit as we shall presently meet with in certain Indian sacred books. Plato's doctrine was carried on by the Neo-platonists, with a large reinforcement of Egyptian ideas.

Besides this Hellenic source of the idea of rebirth, as an influence on western thought, it should be noted that this teaching was not altogether foreign to the other great source of our moral culture, the religious ideas of the Hebrews. Goldstücker, himself a Jew and an adherent of the Hebrew faith, writes on the point as follows: "Amongst the Jews, the doctrine of transmigration—the *Gilgul Neshamoth*—was taught in the mystical system of the *Kabbala*, which pretends to divulge the secrets of creation and those of the nature of the divine and human soul. 'All the souls,' the *Sohar*, or the book of 'light,' the spiritual code of the system, says, are subject to the trials of transmigration; and men do not know which are the ways of the Most High in their regard. They do not know how they are judged in all times, as well before they come to this world as after they leave it. They do not know how many transformations and mysterious trials they must undergo, how many souls and spirits come to this world without returning to the palace of the Divine King? The principle, in short, of the *Kabbala* is the same as that of Brahmanism. The souls, like all other existences of this world, it teaches, must re-enter the absolute substance whence they have emerged. But, to accomplish this end, they must develop all the perfections the germ of which is planted in them; and if they have not fulfilled that condition during one life, they must commence another, a third, and so forth, until they have acquired the condition which fits them for their re-union with God. On the ground of this doctrine, which was shared in by Rabbis of the highest renown, it was held, for instance, that the soul of Adam migrated into David, and will come into the Messiah; that the soul of Japhet is the same as that of Simeon, and the soul of Terah migrated into Job.

Generally, it was supposed by writers of this school, the souls of men are reborn in men, and those of women in women ; but also the reverse takes place, as in the case of Thamar, who had the soul of a man, and in that of Judah whose soul was in part that of a woman. And because Ruth had the soul of Thamar, she could not bear children until God imparted to her sparks of a female soul. If the soul of a man, however, is reborn in a woman, such migration is held by some to be a punishment for the committal of great sins, as when a man refuses to give alms, or communicate to others his wisdom. And it is by way of punishment, too, that the soul of a Jew is reborn in a heathen, or in an animal—a clean or unclean beast, a bird, a fish—or even in an inanimate object. Of all these transmigrations, biblical instances are adduced, according to their mode of interpretation—in the writings of Rabbi Manasse ben Israel, Rabbi Naphtali, Rabbi Meyer ben Gabbai, Rabbi Ruben, in the Jalkut Khadash, and other works of a similar character. Modern Kabbalists—for instance, Isaac Loria—have imagined that divine grace sometimes assists a soul in its career of expiation by allowing it to occupy the same body together with another soul, when both are to supplement each other, like the blind and the lame. Sometimes only one of these two souls requires a supplement of virtue, which it obtains from the other soul, better provided than its partner. The latter soul then becomes, as it were, the mother of the other soul, and bears it under her heart like a pregnant woman. Hence the name of gestation or impregnation is given to this strange association of souls.”¹ We may remark, in parenthesis, that a very notable instance of a similar thought occurs in the Epistle to the Galatians, where Paul writes : “My little children, of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you.”

There are evidences to show that this Kabbalistic teaching, or something very like it, was sufficiently clearly formed in the minds of the first disciples of Christianity to leave certain indications of its existence in the text of the Gospels. Such indications are : “And if ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come.”² And they said, “Some say that thou art John the Baptist : some, Elias ; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets ;”³ with the parallel text : “others said, that it is Elias. And others said, that it is a prophet, or as one of the prophets ;”⁴ and again : “And they asked him and said unto him, why baptizest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet ;”⁵ it is probable

¹. *Literary Remains* of Theodore Goldstücker : Vol. 1, p. 217.

². *τεκνία μου οὗς πολλοὶ ᾤδινω ἀχρὶς οὗ μορφωθῇ χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν*

³. Matt. XI, 14. ⁴. Matt. XVI, 14. ⁵. Mark, VI, 15. ⁶. John. 1, 25.

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that the specific mention of Elias refers to the words of the last of the prophets: "Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet;"⁷ thus closely corresponding with the Kabbalistic idea of the rebirth of remarkable individuals, patriarchs or prophets, which has already been put forward, and testifying to the antiquity of this teaching. In the Gospels, therefore, we find the idea of reincarnation specifically put forward in the case of Elijah, Jeremiah, the prophets, the Messiah, and John the Baptist. It should be noted that, in these instances, we have rather the Indian doctrine of Avatâra,⁸ or the intentional incarnation of a highly developed soul, to help and teach humanity, than the normal reincarnation of ordinary men, for the purposes of expiation, which, we have seen, played so prominent a part in the Egyptian and Greek teachings. The latter doctrine finds an echo in the question: "Who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?"⁹ and, very possibly, in the words: "Thou wast altogether born in sins, and dost thou teach us?"¹⁰ Further, it is at least a plausible supposition that the doctrine of final release from transmigration, or the necessity of further births, is contained in the words: "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out."¹¹ We may therefore say that there are indications of at least three aspects of the whole doctrine of reincarnation in the New Testament; namely, the doctrine of the incarnation of high souls, or Avatâra; the doctrine of expiation of past sins through rebirth, and the doctrine of liberation from the necessity of future births. We may complete this branch of the subject by a further quotation from Goldstücker: "Among the early Christians, St. Jerome relates, the doctrine of transmigration was taught as a traditional and esoteric one, which was only communicated to a selected few; and Origenes, like the Kabbalists, considers it as the only means of explaining some biblical traditions, as that of the struggle of Jacob and Esau before their birth, or the selection of Jeremiah when he was not yet born, and many more events which would throw discredit on divine justice, unless they were justified by good or bad acts done in a former life; of Christian sects, the Manichæans especially adhered to this belief."¹²

In the Germanic mythology, and also in the teachings of the Gallic Druids, there are indications of the same belief;

⁷ Malachi, IV, 5.

⁸ We may illustrate the Avatâra idea by Krishna's words: "In every age, when there is a withering of the Law and an uprising of lawlessness, I send myself forth, as a salvation to the righteous and a terror to those who do evil; I come to birth to restore the Law".—*Bhagavad Gîtâ*, IV, 7, 8.

⁹ John IX, 2.

¹⁰ John IX, 34.

¹¹ Rev. III, 12: καὶ ἐξω οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἔτι

¹² Op. cit., p. 217.

the latter, without doubt, looking on transmigrations as a means of purifying the soul, and preparing it for eternal life. A form of the same doctrine appears in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, in which, the best critics hold, Virgil embodied in a veiled form the teaching of the mysteries. We may therefore say that, at a period of some two thousand years ago, the doctrines of reincarnation and liberation were held all over the western world, as mystery doctrines, and, as far as we can judge, the most important part of the Mysteries. To their careful concealment in this way is, doubtless, due the fact that our indications of the presence of these ideas are not more abundant and lucid; as it is, they are quite sufficient to prove the universal prevalence of this teaching, in an almost identical form, from Judea and Egypt to the Druids of Britain, from Italy and Greece to Scandinavia. We can here only allude to the very remarkable revival of the same doctrine, within quite recent years, in the systems of some of the most distinguished of modern thinkers.

2. THE TEACHING OF REINCARNATION IN INDIA.

Though very much has been written concerning this doctrine in the religions and philosophies of India, it seems to us that certain points of the very highest importance have either been overlooked, or not brought out nearly as strongly as they deserve, from their inherent value. Thus, for instance, while it has been pointed out more than once that the teaching of reincarnation is absent from the very oldest Sanskrit works, it has not been at all adequately recognised that, in the passage where the doctrine appears quite clearly for the first time, a reason, of the highest historical moment, is given for its previous absence from the sacred books, a reason which sheds a flood of light on the ethnical, religious, and philosophic conditions of Ancient India. Of this very striking passage, which first opens up the teaching of reincarnation, there are two versions, or three, if we count the *Shatapatha Brâhmaṇa* and the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣhad* as separate works.¹⁸ As Professor Deussen, in his *System of the Vedânta*, has translated the possibly secondary version from the *Chhândogya Upaniṣhad*, we shall follow the other version, as it is found in the text of the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣhad*, adding such passages from the *Chhândogya* as may seem worthy of special comment. The passage is as follows:—

“Aruṇa’s grandson Shvetaketu came to the gathering of the Pañchâlas; he came to Pravâhaṇa, son of Jîvala in the midst of his court. The king looked up at him:—

“‘Youth,’ said he.

¹⁸ *Shatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, XIV, 9, 1, 1. *Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣhad*, VI, 2, 1, *Chhândogya Upaniṣhad*, V, 3, 1.

" ' Sire, ' he replied.

" ' Hast thou been instructed by thy father in the traditional teaching ?'

" ' Yes, ' said he.

(1) " ' Knowest thou how these beings, going forth [from life] go towards different directions ?'

" ' No, ' said he.

(2) " ' Knowest thou how they come to this world again ?'

" ' No, ' said he.

(3) " ' Knowest thou how they enter this world again ?'

" ' No, ' said he.

(4) " ' Knowest thou how the other world is not completely filled by many again and again going forth [from life] ?'

" ' No, ' said he.

(5) " ' Knowest thou at which offering being offered, the waters becoming human-voiced, rise up and speak ?'

" ' No, ' said he.

(6) " ' Knowest thou the going toward the path of the way of the Gods (*Devayâna*), or of the way of the fathers (*Pitryâna*), or according to what works they approach the path, the way of the Gods, or the way of the fathers ;—for the word of the seer (*Rshi*) has been heard by us' :

" Two ways have I heard, of the Fathers and of the Gods for mortals :

" By these two goes all this moving world, whatever is between father and mother.¹⁴

" ' Of these I know not even one !' said he.

" Then he invited him to remain [as his pupil] ; but the youth, not consenting to remain, ran away. He came to his father, and said to him.

" ' Thou didst formerly declare us to be instructed in the hereditary teaching !'

" ' What, then, wise one ?' he asked.

" ' The friend of the Rājanyas has asked me five questions ; I do not know anyone of them !'

" ' What were they ?' he asked.

" ' They were these, said he, and told them to him one by one.

" ' Thus thou knowest us, ' said he, ' that whatever I know, that all I have told to thee. But come, let us two go thither and dwell as pupils in wisdom.'

" ' Let my sire go himself !' said he. So the descendant of Gotamas came to where [was the dwelling] of Pravâhaṇa, son of Jīvala. And he, inviting him to sit, had water brought to him, and received him honourably, saying to him :—

" ' We give a wish to thee, worthy descendant of the Gotamas.'

¹⁴ That is, " between Heaven and Earth ;" from R̥gveda X, 88, 15 = Vāj. Samh., 19, 47.

" ' The wish is promised to me !' he said.

" ' Declare to me the word that thou didst speak in the presence of the youth !'

" ' Descendant of the Gotamas,' he replied, ' this is amongst wishes of the gods ; mention a wish among those of men.'

" He replied. ' It is well known—abundance of elephants " and gold, of cows and horses, slave-girls, attendants and robes. But let not my lord be ungenerous in what is great, unending, illimitable."

There is a situation in the Kāṭha Upaniṣhad remarkably like the story we have just translated. King Yama is visited by Nachiketas, seeking for wisdom, and promises him three wishes. The aspirant asks for a knowledge of eternal things—" the wish that draws near to what is hidden, Nachiketas chooses no other wish than that." The king, who is afterwards the Initiator, now plays the part of the Tempter, declares this to be a secret for the gods, and offers wealth and length of days, ' much herds, elephants, gold, horses, . . . these beauties, with their cars and lutes.' Nachiketas refuses, and the Tempter, become the Initiator, commends him thus : " Thou, Nachiketas, considering dear and dearly loved desires, hast passed them by ; nor hast thou taken the path of wealth in which many of the sons of men sink." [May we not conjecture that, in both cases, we are dealing with a tradition of initiation in the mysteries, in which the Adversary tempts the candidate with ' the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them ;' only he who resists the temptation being deemed fit to receive the wished-for knowledge, as in the case of Nachiketas and Uddālaka Aruṇi, in the passages under consideration. With this should be compared the testing of the soul in the palace of Osiris, in the Egyptian mysteries, where only the pure rose upward to eternal life, the impure being driven back again into the world].

A close parallel to the words of king Pravāhana : " This is amongst wishes of the gods ; mention a wish among those of men," is found in king Yama's words : " Even the gods have doubted about this, nor easily known is this subtle law ;" in each case followed by the formula of temptation—' gold, elephants, cows, horses, slave-girls, attendants.'

It may be noted that these things are precisely the objects of prayer and sacrifice in the hymns of the R̥gveda. Thus Wilson writes : " The blessings prayed for are, for the most

¹⁸ Instead of the usual reading *hāsti hiranyasya dattam*, I here conjecture *hāsti-hiranyasya - dattam*, *goashvānām dāstnām paridhānasya*.

This is supported by the very similar passages, (1) Chhând. 7, 24 2 : " *Go-ashvamiha mahimā iti dachakṣhate hāsti-hiranyam Dasabdhāryam*."—Cows and horses, elephants and gold, slaves and women are held to be greatness here below ;" and (2) Kāṭha-Up. 1, 23 : " *Bahūn pashūn hāsti-hiranyam ashvān—ime dādhā*," ' Much herds, elephants, gold, horses, . . . these fair women.'

part, of a temporal and personal description,—wealth, food, life, posterity, cattle, cows, and horses . . . benefits of a worldly and physical character.” *Rigveda*, Vol. i., p. XXIV. Therefore Uddālaka, the descendant of the Gotamas, is simply quoting a familiar phrase, introducing it with the words, “it is well known.”

The Upaniṣhad narrative continues as follows:—

“‘This, O descendant of the Gotamas, is a holy wish!’
“said he,

“‘I come to thee as my teacher, Sire,’ said he, for with this
“speech the men of old used to approach [the teachers].
“So he dwelt with him, after this word of approach.

“Then [Pravâhaṇa] said: ‘Therefore be free from
“blame towards us, thou and thy ancestors, since this wis-
“dom hitherto dwelt not in any Brâhmaṇa; but I shall
“declare it to thee. For who may refuse thee, speaking
“thus?’”¹⁶

The parallel passage in the Chhândogya Upaniṣhad brings out the force of this even more clearly.

“‘As this wisdom goes not to the Brâhmaṇas before thee,
“but among all peoples is the initiation of the Kṣhattriya
“alone.’”¹⁷

Let us for a moment recall the five questions which give the key to this wisdom. They involve the teaching of how the souls of men go forth from this world; how they return to, and re-enter this world, so that the other world is not completely filled; how some souls take the path to the Gods, while others follow the path of the fathers, and are subsequently reborn in this world; in other words, the whole doctrine of reincarnation and liberation. It is, therefore, the whole doctrine of reincarnation and liberation—the doctrine rightly held to be the heart and soul of Indian philosophy, which “went not before to the Brahmans, but was among all peoples the initiation of the Kṣhattriya alone.”

To thoroughly appreciate the meaning of this most remarkable statement, we must remember that the white Brahmans were of quite different race from the red Rajputs, or Râjanyas, or Kṣhattriya,—for the three words are synonymous; it follows, therefore, from the plain and perfectly explicit statement of the text,—a statement, the verbal accuracy of which is vouched for, by its occurrence in each of the two longest Upaniṣhads, and also in one of the Brâhmaṇas—that the doctrine of reincarnation and the doctrine of liberation belonged originally, not to the Brahmans at all, but to the rival race, the red Râjanyas or Râjputs, with whom it was

¹⁶ Brhadâranyaka Upaniṣhad, VI, 2, 1-8.

¹⁷ Chhândogya Upaniṣhad, V, 3, 7.

a secret teaching, a part of the traditional wisdom of the Mysteries, just as it was, in later ages, in Egypt, Greece and other nations of the west. The red Rajputs, therefore, were the Masters and Initiators; the Brahmans, their humble pupils, and this not in some obscure science, but in the very doctrine which is generally spoken of as the heart and soul of Brahmanism, of Brahmanical philosophy. In that case, a borrowed heart; a soul, the free gift of their rivals the red Rajputs; the deed of gift being preserved quite indubitably in the two greatest Upaniṣhads. This is certainly a very remarkable, and hitherto quite unsuspected, result; yet we can bring in support of the justice of it no less a witness than Shaṅkar-âchârya, the greatest of all Brahmans, in any age.

For, in his commentary on the passage we have quoted, in the Brhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣhad, he paraphrases the words we have translated, thus:—

“As this wisdom asked for by thee, hitherto, before being bestowed on thee, dwelt not, has not a dwelling, in any Brâhmaṇa at all, so thou also knowest that this wisdom went by the spiritual succession of the Kṣhattriya, and this condition also should be preserved by me if possible.”

On the parallel passage in the Chhândogya Upaniṣhad, he comments thus:—

“This wisdom before thee goes not to the Brâhmaṇas, that is, went not. For the Brâhmaṇas were not initiated into this wisdom. . . . Among all peoples, initiation, the initiating of pupils, of the Kṣhattriya, the Kṣhattriya race, was into this wisdom. For so long a time this wisdom came down the chain of spiritual succession of the Kṣhattriya.”¹⁸

To make the matter perfectly clear and beyond all doubt, we may note that, in the same commentary, Sankara describes this hereditary mystery teaching of the Râjanya or red Rajputs in these words:—

“The paths of reincarnation (*Samsâra*) of all beings from the Evolver down to the inanimate; and the narration of those who seek liberation (*Mumukṣhûṇām*) through renunciation of passion (*vâirâgya*),”—this is the wisdom, or science, which never came to the Brahmans before, but was the mystery doctrine of the Râjanya alone.

III. REINCARNATION AND THE R̥GVEDA.

In the light of our knowledge that the white Brahmans and the red Rajputs, Râjanya, or Kṣhattriya, really belonged

¹⁸ I have in each case translated the Commentary of Sankara from the excellent editions of the Upaniṣhads, published by the *Anandâshrama* of Poona: No. 15, p. 767, No. 14, p. 245.

to two widely different races, we shall be able to see in a new light, sentences like this of Professor Cowell's :—

"The great teachers of this highest knowledge are not Brahmins, but Kṣhattryas, and Brahmins are continually represented as going to the great Kṣhattrya Kings to become their pupils,"¹⁹ or of Professor Deussen :—

"Numberless indications point us to the truth that the real guardians of these thoughts were originally not the priestly caste, absorbed in their ceremonial, but rather the caste of the Kṣhattryas. Again and again, in the Upaniṣhads, we meet with a situation where the Brahman prays the Kṣhattrya for instruction,"²⁰ or of Professor Max Müller :—

"The Brahmins seem to have forgotten that, according to their own Upaniṣhads, Pravâhana Jâivali, King of the Pañchalas, silenced Shvetaketu Aruneya and his father, and then communicated to them doctrines which Kṣhattryas only, but no Brahmins, had ever known before."²¹

To understand the true force of this, we must remember that we are dealing with a difference, not of caste, but of race, and that the doctrines which were the peculiar property of the red Rājanya race included those of Reincarnation and Liberation.

In the Upaniṣhads, it will be remembered, we were told, that Shvetaketu had been initiated by his father in the wisdom of the Brahmins; another passage referring to the same persons, tells us that Shvetaketu's learning included "hymns of the R̥g-Veda, the Sâma Veda, and the Yajur-Veda."²² We have, therefore, a statement, capable of being tested, that a Brahman might be learned in these three Vedas, as Shvetaketu and his father were, while yet knowing nothing of the teaching of Reincarnation and the teaching of Liberation. We shall now put this statement to the test.

As it is well known that the Yajur Veda and the Sâma Veda are composed almost wholly of materials taken from the R̥g-Veda, and re-arranged for ceremonial purposes, we need not go beyond the question, whether the doctrine of reincarnation is contained in the R̥g-Veda hymns.

The first verse quoted by Brahman scholars to show the presence of this teaching in the hymns is the thirty-second in the hundred and sixty-fourth hymn of the first "circle" or Maṇḍala. The word *Vahuprajâh*,²³ occurring in this verse, is rendered by the commentator "is subject to many births," with the alternative interpretation "has much offspring," or

¹⁹ Elphinstone's *History of India*, ed. Cowell, appendix VII, p. 282.

²⁰ *Das system des Vedânta*; Introduction, 2.

²¹ *Chips from a German Workshop*; II, 338.

²² Chhândogya Upaniṣhad, VI, 7, 2. 8 : "R̥chah somya yajûnshi sâmanî-iti."

²³ R̥gveda, I, 164, 32.

"has many children;" now it is quite clear that only the latter sense is natural and admissible, while the former, on which is based the supposed presence of the teaching of re-birth, is as clearly an afterthought, artificial, and foreign to the original intention of the hymn. Another passage pointed to as containing this doctrine, is in the sixteenth hymn of the last Maṇḍala: "May the eye go to the sun, the breath (*ātman*) to the wind. Go to heaven and earth, as is the rule. Or go to the waters, if it is pleasant for thee there. Under the grass linger with thy bones."²⁴ Now no one reading this verse would for a moment dream that it alluded to the soul's development through a series of births, any more than do the words "ashes to ashes, earth to earth." Yet Sāyaṇa, in his Commentary, transforms it as follows: "O departed one, may the potency of thy sight go to the sun, thy breath to the wind, and thou thyself, through thy duty well done, to heaven, to enjoy the fruit of it. Or to the earth, or the waters—the mid-world—if the fruit of thy works (*Karmaphala*) is laid up in the mid-world; remain among the herbs with the parts of thy body."²⁵ Even more striking is the transformation worked by Sāyaṇa's Commentary on the same verse repeated elsewhere: "O departed one, may the potency of thy sight go to the sun, thy breath to the outer air, and thyself, through thy duty well done, to the heaven-world to enjoy the fruit of it, and go to the earth-world or the water, the potency of the eye and other powers, until the gaining of a body once more; the governing power of each of them will come to thee after a body has been gained by thee in the celestial and other worlds. In whatever world thy happiness is laid up, having gone thither, then entering into plants, and by them, as by a door entering the bodies of father and mother, gaining there fitting bodies, be raised up by these bodies."²⁶ Now, not only can we see that this is an addition to the sense of the original verse involving the forcible introduction of the teaching of re-birth, but, further, we shall presently be able to point to the source from which the thought and even the very words of this addition were drawn.

These are the clearest passages which have hitherto been adduced from the R̥g-Veda, in support of the idea that the doctrine of re-birth is to be found there; but it is quite clear that they fail to do this. That this failure is generally recognised by scholars, may be seen from the following statements.

Dr. A. Weber writes²⁷: "In the songs of the Rik (R̥g-Veda)

²⁴ R̥gveda, X, 16, 3.

²⁵ Sāyaṇa, *ad loc. cit*

²⁶ Sāyaṇa *ad* Tāittirīya Āraṇyaka VI. 1, 22

²⁷ Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen gesellschaft : Vol. IX, 238.

there is as yet no trace to be found of transmigration (reincarnation)."

In the same sense Zimmer says²⁸: "Of the later Indian teaching of transmigration (re-incarnation) we have no indication in the Veda."

But we may make this demonstration even more convincing by pointing to the fact, that while the teaching of re-birth cannot be found with any certainty in the hymns of the R̥g-Veda, they do contain clear, even if scant, indications of quite a different belief, as to the destinies of the dead; belief, moreover, which stands in sharp contradiction to the teaching of re-birth, and is quite irreconcilable with that teaching. The belief of the hymns is briefly described in these words: "The oldest view, as it rules in the hymns of the R̥g-Veda, knows as yet no transmigration (re-incarnation). The souls of the good go, after death, to Yama's heaven of light, where they lead a blissful life in the company of the fathers; the evil remain shut out from it and go (according to a less distinct and perhaps secondary view) into 'the nether darkness.' There is no return of either to earth life."²⁹

The following hymn of the R̥g-Veda gives us one of the clearest pictures of the aspirations of the pious³⁰:

"Where is uncreated light, the world wherein the sun is set: in it, Soma, place me, in the unchanging world of immortality. Distil the draught for Indra!

"Where is the Son of the sun, king (Yama), where is the firm mansion of heaven, where are those running waters; there let me be immortal. Distil the draught for Indra!

"Where are desire and pleasure, where is the red firmament of heaven, where are the food of spirits and abundance; there let me be immortal. Distil the draught for Indra!

"Where happiness and bliss, joy and rejoicing, wait; where the wish's wishes are fulfilled, there let me be immortal. Distil the draught for Indra!"

In spite of the beauty of language which this hymn undoubtedly has, we can find nothing really spiritual in the longings expressed in it; none of those "sparkles of everlastingness" that shine forth from the Upaniṣhads. So much is this so, that an acute critic has been constrained to say³¹ that "everything in this Brahmanical hymn bears the character of indolent supersensual sensual enjoyment,"—of those very "dear and dearly loved desires," the refusal of which won for Nachiketas the praise of King Yama himself, the

²⁸ Altindisches Leben, p. 408

²⁹ Deussen, *Das System des Vedānta*, p. 386, based on R̥gv. X, 14, 10 and R̥gv. X, 152, 4

³⁰ R̥gveda, IX, 113, 7-10.

³¹ Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 532.

celestial counterpart of those riches of "elephants and gold, cows and horses, slave-girls, attendants and robes" which Uddâlaka Âruṇi brushed aside as worthless, in the presence of the better way.

One of the chief sources of the soul's enjoyment in this sensuous paradise is the food and drink offered at burial, or at stated intervals afterwards; ³² another is the reward of works following it into the other world, the fruit of "offerings and pious gifts" (*iṣṭâpūrta*). ³³ The Atharva Veda is full of descriptions of the streams of blessings into which gifts given to the priests during life are transformed in the other world; streams "with ponds of butter and banks of honey, with spirituous liquor instead of water; full of milk and water and buttermilk." ³⁴ So much for the Vedic paradise.

As far as we can learn from the R̥gveda, this paradise was the natural destiny of all men who lived good lives according to the ideals of the Vedic polity; and as these ideals simply embodied the opinions of the multitude, it is natural to conclude that the reward of paradise was the normal and general destiny of all. So much is this so, that only the slightest indications of a place of punishment for evil doers, in "nether darkness," are to be found in the R̥gveda hymns: "Those who betray brotherless maidens, who lead ill lives, as women who deceive their husbands, who are evil, false, untrue, have shaped for themselves that deep dwelling-place." ³⁵ There is great obscurity concerning this nether region, and there is even a group of indications that this "nether darkness" is the kingdom of Yama, to which a "steep path" leads, that is, probably, a region beneath or within the earth, the "world of the fathers" (*pitrloka*), to which leads the "way of the Fathers" (*pitryâna*), in contradistinction to "the world of the Gods" (*devaloka*) reached by the way of the Gods (*devayâna*) and conceived as in heaven, the luminous sun-world above the earth, whither only the beloved of the Gods can go. We should thus have a conception very like the classical contrast of Hades and Olympus, or Elysium, ³⁶ the latter "clothed with wider ether and purple light," whither chosen heroes only go.

But the indications in the R̥gveda are too scanty to allow us to reach a certain decision. We must turn to a later epoch of Indian life before we get vivid descriptions of these worlds of the dead, and the fate of those who dwell there; and we shall find throughout two quite incompatible beliefs, one of which we shall be able to trace to the teaching of the Upanishads, the hereditary secret doctrine of the Râjanyas, while

³². Atharva Veda, XVII, 4, 32 ff.

³⁴. Atharva Veda, IV, 34.

³⁶. Odyssey VI, 44. Æneid VI, 638.

³³. R̥gveda, X, 14, 8.

³⁵. R̥gveda, IV, 5, 5.

in the other we may see either a development of the Brahmanical belief of the Vedic hymns, or only a fuller statement of the belief, of which there are traces in the R̥gveda, but no clear and adequate description. In the meantime, one thing remains quite certain. Of the teaching of reincarnation there is no certain trace at all in the hymns; rather there is a consensus of evidence and authority pointing to the fact that for the hymns, this doctrine did not exist; so that it would be perfectly true to represent the Brahmans, Uddālaka and Shvetaketu, as familiar with R̥g. and Yajur and Sâma, and yet unable to answer the questions "how those who have departed return to this world and enter this world again."

We have thus verified one part of the story of Pravâhaṇa,—that touching the ignorance of the Brahmans,—and this strongly reinforces our willingness to believe the other part,—that which asserts the knowledge of the Kṣhattryas, the Râjanyas, and their hereditary possession of a mystery-doctrine, including the teachings of rebirth and liberation. We shall now turn to an analysis of this teaching, as it was explained by King Pravâhaṇa, the son of Jîvala, to the Brahman Uddālaka Âruṇi, descendant of the Gotamas.

IV. THE PATHS OF REBIRTH AND LIBERATION.

Before coming to translate the mystery-doctrine which King Pravâhaṇa imparted to the Brahman Uddālaka, after testing him, and proving him to be a fitting pupil, we may prepare the way by a few general statements. The doctrine taught by the Râjanya sage is still a mystery teaching, and is, therefore, clothed in a certain symbolism,—which is in reality quite simple and lucid, making the teaching more vivid, and in no degree obscuring it. For not only do we find a complete unveiling of this symbolism, in numerous passages in the Upaniṣhads, but such an unveiling is in many cases not even needed, as the similes and images used are universal and based on natural fitness. The leading thought is, that the manifest universe is divided into three worlds, or planes, or spheres, which we may call the spiritual, the psychic, and the physical. These three worlds are in the ultimate truth, only three phases, or moods of the fourth, which is the divine, the absolute, the eternal.

Now these three worlds are spoken of by an imagery of great natural beauty, as three "fires;" the purpose being to fix our attention on them as manifestations of energy rather than form, of force rather than matter. And this foreshadows in a remarkable way the last results of our own science and philosophy; for while, in philosophy, Schopenhauer sees in the whole world only an objective manifesting of Will; in science, we have

Faraday very profoundly suggesting that the atom is in reality only a centre of forces ; the solid nucleus being either a myth or a superfluity.

We shall, therefore, constantly find the Upaniṣhads speaking of life as the out-breathing of three fires, "the spiritual fire," "the psychic fire," and "the vital fire." There is nothing local or strained in this comparison ; for we ourselves use exactly the same image, when we speak of "the fire of genius," "the flame of passion," "the glow of health," broadly corresponding to the same three ideas. Now the three worlds, spiritual, psychic, physical, are, by a very natural imagery, very often expressed by the simile of the heavens, the air, and the earth ; just as we used the same word, heaven, in a natural and spiritual sense, for the sky and for paradise. We have also a quite common habit of expressing psychic things in terms of the air and its phenomena, as when we speak of a mind being clouded ; a storm of passion ; an electrical nature,—that is, one charged with lightning ; or, to quote a more stately image, from the Preacher : "the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say I have no pleasure in them, while the sun, or the light, or the moon, or the stars, be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain."

So universal is this symbolism and comparison between spiritual life and the serene firmament, between the psychic life of emotion and passion and the ever-changing atmosphere,—that we must believe it flows from a relation not less universal ; a relation lying in nature itself. Thus also we find the sun and moon constantly used, in all religions and all poetry, to symbolise the clear spirit and the changeful mind ; so that, for the former, we may quote "the Sun of Righteousness"³⁷ and "the righteous shine forth as the sun,"³⁸ from writings dealing almost wholly with the spiritual world ; for the latter similes, between the changeful mind and the changing moon are endless ; while there is a further propriety in the image because, as the moon borrows light from the sun, so the psychic nature, the mind that doubts and intends, draws its light from the soul.

Yet another image of like universal nature, the contrast between day and night, light and darkness. The part that this image has played in the Zoroastrian and Manichean systems is well known ; we need only give one other instance of its use. When Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, says : "Ye are all the children of light and the children of the day : we are not of the night nor of the darkness ;"³⁹ we require no commentator to tell us that he is not speaking of the natural

³⁷ Malachi, IV, 2.

³⁸ Mathew, XIII, 43.

³⁹ 1 Thess V, 5.

day and night, of twenty-four hours, but is using the words as a vivid simile for spiritual and material things and their opposition; nor must we forget that words like "spirit" and "matter" are themselves similes, perhaps distinguished only by being less poetic and forcible than those of old.

So that we have such natural images as heaven and earth, sun and moon, light and darkness, night and day; and beyond this transparent veiling the mystery-language of the Rājanya teaching hardly goes. What is peculiar to it, is a certain minuteness of fancy, which carries the same imagery into a richness of detail, such as we hardly expect, and such as we shall not find so universally used as are the first broad outlines of imagery. In treating of the question of re-birth the Rājanya teacher begins, not as we should, perhaps, expect, with the present life and a soul already embodied; but, very philosophically, with the spiritual condition before the descent into this world, and the spiritual world from which, according to the doctrine of emanation, not only the natural body, but the whole natural world, proceeds. This is expressed as follows by Pravāhana.

"Descendant of the Gotamas, the other world is a fire; the sun is the fuel of it; the rays are the smoke; day is the bright flame; the spaces are the embers; the interspaces the sparks."

"In it, in this fire, the bright ones offer Faith; from that offering, the lunar lord is born."

Here we have the similes for the spiritual world which we have already spoken of; and again it requires no commentator to tell us that this fire is celestial fire, that the sun is the "Sun of Righteousness," that the day and the bright spaces of the sky and the rays are all fitting symbols of that luminous world, that immortal sea which "our souls have sight of," to use the splendid imagery of Wordsworth, expressing precisely the same thought.

A little more difficulty is contained in the picture of Faith (*shraddha*) sacrificed by the bright ones, but we have only to remember that Faith is often used in the Upanishads as a synonym of the soul (*buddhi*), and that the bright ones (*devāh*) are its powers, in this case the powers that make for re-birth, to understand what is meant. The soul's powers that make for re-birth, "sacrifice" the soul's dwelling in the spiritual world, and bring it downwards towards the earth. The world it enters is, as we shall immediately see, the psychic world which lies between, and joins, the two extremes of spiritual and material; its vesture there is no longer of the "sun," but of the "moon," that is, a psychic vesture, belonging to the changing emotions and passions of the mind. Hence, after

the soul's first descent, we find it described as the "lunar lord," or, as we might otherwise express it, the psychic body. The world in which the psychic body is thus born, *Pravâhaṇa* symbolises thus :—

"Descendant of the Gotamas, the storm-power is a fire ;
"the circle of seasons is its fuel : the clouds are the smoke ;
"lightning is the bright flame ; the thunderbolt, the embers ;
"the flashes, the sparks."

"In it, in this fire, the bright ones offer the lunar lord, and
"from that offering the descending waters are born."

It is a matter of considerable difficulty to paraphrase the symbolism of this section ; because, though our language has a certain abundance of words for the purely spiritual world which is reached by the highest aspirations of faith and genius, we are singularly poor, both in understanding and expression, with regard to the world which lies between the spiritual and the physical,—the psychic, or astral, world, to use two of the more usual words applied to it. Hence, for the "storm-power" or the "rain-power," the psychic "world of waters," or "the astral light," to use the commoner expressions, we have as slight resources of language as we have comprehension. Only the extreme lucidity and propriety in the old symbolism saves us from entire confusion. From these lucid symbols we can grasp the conception that, as a cloud condenses into water, so the "lunar lord," the psychic body, condenses or changes into a more material form, as a preparatory to fully entering the physical world. This very simple allegory is at the root of much that the Upanishads say of the soul's rebirth through the medium of "rain" and "food ;" the former being a synonym of what, for want of a better word, we may call condensed astral matter ; while by the latter is expressed physical matter, as it is perceived through the senses. So that the passage through "rain" and "food" means the passage through the lower psychic or astral condition to the physical or material. There is another sense in which this simile is true. Just as the evolution of man is completed in the convergence of two streams—the Spiritual, from above, and the Physical, from below⁴⁰—so that lesser evolution comprehended in a single birth is completed by a similar convergence of the spiritual individual with the vital, physical body ; the first basis of which is furnished by the parents, being derived by them from food, which is derived from plants, these again being nourished by rain. In the Upanishads, the sections treating of the physical origin of the new body are concluded thus :—

"In this fire [the union of the sexes] the bright ones offer
"seed ; from this offering the man is born."

⁴⁰ For a clear apprehension of this, see the concluding Section of '*Darwinism*,' by A. B. Wallace, F. R. S.

The "waters," or astral form, having condensed into "food," or the physical form, thus take final shape as the new-born child ; thus it is that "the waters rise up with human voice," in the phrase of the question originally put to Shvetaketu ; the human voice being the voice of the new-born child. This metaphor is of great interest in its way, because it shows us that, at the time of putting the question, not only the doctrine of the descent into birth, but even the symbolic presentation of this doctrine, as a series of sacrifices, was present in the Rājanya teacher's mind ; so that, along with the "traditional teaching" handed down among the Kṣhattryas, we have the best grounds for believing in a "mystery language" also, based on a vivid and natural use of metaphor and simile. This fact will strongly support our consistently interpreting the symbols in each part of the doctrine in conformity with a comprehension of the whole.

The life of the new-born man is described with the brevity of a Parish Register :

"He lives while he lives ; when he dies—"

We need not press the point here, but it would seem to us that this sentence implies the belief that the scope of the man's life is already largely determined when he comes to birth ; in other words, implies the doctrine of Karma, which will be treated explicitly a few sections later on. This is interesting, as further strengthening the idea that the Rājanya seer was developing no new views, but simply repeating an already well-known teaching. Indeed, we can nowhere find any real trace of the "development" of this, or, indeed, of any spiritual doctrine ; the invariable rule is that we find the teaching at its best in the very earliest form in which we know it ; after which it will be seen to degenerate, but never to develop. We suggest that this principle be kept in mind in all researches into the change or continuity of religious ideas ; and we believe that the contrary opinion, the view that religions improve by development in time—is due to an improper extension of Darwinian ideas to a field which does not rightly belong to them, and in which they are contradicted by facts.

To continue our translation :—

"He lives while he lives ; when he dies, they bring him to the pyre. Of it, fire is the fire, fuel is the fuel, smoke is the smoke, flame is the flame, embers are the embers, sparks are the sparks."

This return to direct language further emphasises the fact that what went before was metaphor and symbol. The text continues :—

"In it, in this fire, the bright powers offer the man. From this offering the man (or, the spirit) arises, of the colour of the

"sun" : that is, again in a psychic or astral vesture. Then we come to the dividing of the ways :—

"They who know this thus (the initiates in esoteric wisdom) and they who, in the forest, follow after the soul and the real come to the flame ; from the flame, they come to the day ; from the day to the increasing half (of the month) ; from the increasing half to the six months when the sun goes northward (the summer) ; from these months to the world of the bright powers, from the world of the bright powers to the sun ; from the sun to (the world) surcharged with lightning ; them, surcharged with lightning, a spirit, mind-born, going, leads to the worlds of the Eternal. In these worlds of the Eternal they dwell, great and mighty. For them there is no return."

These last words very strongly recall the verse we quoted before :—

"Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of the Eternal, and he shall go no more out ;"⁴¹ and it is almost impossible to avoid the belief that they indicate an identical idea.

We need not insist on what we have already said, as to the symbolic use of darkness and light, day and night, and the like, to express polar opposites in spiritual things. It is quite clear in what we have translated, that we are dealing with spiritual worlds in ascending order, or, to express the same idea in other words, with the spiritual sides or poles of a series of ascending planes, from the psychic up to the world of the Eternal. In his commentary, Shaṅkara expresses this by saying that not the day, the bright fortnight, the summer, are meant, but the spiritual reality (*devatā*) underlying them.

The characteristics of those who follow this "path of the Gods" (*devayana*) to the worlds of the Eternal, from which there is no more rebirth, are that they follow "faith and truth," or "the soul and the real" (*Shraddhām satyam upāsate*),—the path of union with the real Self, which is the message of the Upanishads. The spirit, born of mind, which leads them to the worlds of the Eternal, is undoubtedly no other than that higher Self, regarded as a mind-born son of the Eternal.

Contrasted with those who follow the better way, the spiritual path taught in the Upanishads, we find the followers of the traditional system of the Brahmans, the path of priestly ritual to which Uddālaka himself had hitherto belonged, but willingly and unhesitatingly abandoned for the better way. This traditional worship of the Brahmans had, for its aim, as we have pointed out already, success in this world and the next ; material well-being here ; sensuous delights there. These

⁴¹ Revelation, III, 12.

things were to be gained by pleasing the Gods, who, in return for sacrifices and burnt offerings, allowed themselves to be "milked" by their worshippers, as the *R̥gveda* chastely expresses it. To make quite clear that this and nothing else, was the tenor of the Brahmanical faith, we may quote a few lines from a source above cavil or dispute,—the *Bhagavad Gītā*.⁴²

"The Lord of beings (*Prajāpati*), of old, creating being accompanied by sacrifice, declared : 'Be fruitful through this ; may this be a cow of plenty (*Kāmadhuk*) for you.'

"Nourish the Gods by this, and let the Gods nourish you. Mutually nourishing each other, ye shall obtain supreme happiness.

"For the Gods, nourished by sacrifice, will give you the feasts you desire. He who eats what they give without payment, he, verily, is a thief.

"They who eat the leavings of the sacrifice are set free from all sins. But they, sinful, eat sin, who cook for themselves alone."

This is one of those passages which, as Goldstücker noted of the *Mahābhārata* in general, mark the hand of the Brahmanical editor in what is properly a poem of the *Kṣhattriyas*. The fate of those who follow this religion of barter is thus described by the *Rājanya* sage :—

"And those who win worlds by sacrifice, gifts, and penance, they come to the smoke ; from the smoke, they come to the night ; from the night to the diminishing half (of the month) ; from the diminishing half to the six months when the sun goes southward (the winter) ; from these months to the world of the fathers ; from the world of the fathers to the moon ; gaining the moon they become food ; there the bright ones,—as they say to the lunar lord, increase ! decrease !—feast on them thus."

Here again, we need hardly repeat that the smoke, the fortnight of the waning moon, the half-year of the waning sun, and the lunar world are used as symbols ; as the darker material sides or poles of the worlds whose bright, spiritual poles the sons of liberation gained. For convenience, we may place the two series together, beginning with the highest :—

THE PATH OF THE GODS.	THE PATH OF THE FATHERS.
1. The World of the Eternal.	—
2. The world of lightning.	The world of the moon.
3. The World of the Gods.	The world of the Fathers.
4. The six increasing months.	The six decreasing months.
5. The waxing moon.	The waning moon.
6. The day.	The night.
7. The flame.	The smoke.

⁴² *Bhagavad Gītā*, III, 10ff.

If we were to search all nature for a series of symbols to express the dual nature of six ascending planes of being, we could hardly find any images of equal vividness and propriety. Those who are to be reborn, it will be noticed, pass into the same worlds as the children of liberation, excepting only the highest. But they tend to the opposite and material poles of each of these worlds ; to the dark lining of the illumined cloud.

The symbol of their "becoming food for the Gods" is not less transparent. The "Gods" are conceived as reservoirs of spiritual power, isolated from the Eternal, the supreme spiritual power, for the space of each world-period ; and to whose charge the forces of visible nature are committed. The mercenary worshippers—the essence of whose belief is the desire for well-being for their separated individual souls—rise up to these reservoirs of power and become absorbed into, and identified with them. They thus spare, for a period, the power of the "God" in whom they are absorbed, "waxing" into the fulness of that power, according to the strength of their spiritual longings ; then "waning" out of it again, as their unsatisfied earthly tendencies re-assert themselves. Thus they increase and decrease, like the moon. Their descent to earth is thus described :

"When their cycle is complete (*pari-ava-eti*), they descend "into the ether ; from the ether to the air ; from the air to "rain ; from rain to the earth. When they have reached the "earth, they become food, and are offered again in the fire of "man, born again in the fire of woman, and come back into "these worlds. Thus verily they turn round after [the law] "*(anu-pari-vart-ante)*."

Here, it seems to us, the teaching of the Rājanya sage properly ends. It will be noted that he uses yet a third series of symbols for the higher planes through which the returning souls descend ; so that, taking all three series of similes together, we may gain a very clear conception of these superior worlds. At the conclusion, he recurs to the imagery with which the doctrine began—the symbol of the fires ; thus the complete life-cycle is fully and perfectly depicted, and nothing is needed to supplement, or in any way amplify, the doctrine. It is quite complete, and covers the whole ground.

V. OTHER PASSAGES IN THE UPANIṢHADS.

In the text, as we have it, however, there is a codicil or concluding sentence. And they who know not these two paths, "they are worms, moths, like the serpent here."

The last lines of the teaching are expanded as follows, in the parallel passage in the fifth chapter of the Chhândogya Upaniṣhad ;

" They whose walk in life was fair, for them is the prospect
 " that they may enter a fair womb,—a Brâhmaṇa womb, or a
 " Kṣhattriya womb, or a Vâishya womb. But they whose
 " walk in life was foul, for them is the prospect that they may
 " enter a foul womb,—a dog's womb, or a sow's womb or a
 " Chhaṇḍâla's womb.

" And they who [go] by neither of those two paths, become
 " these small beings, perpetually returning, of whom it is said :
 " 'be born ! die !' This is the third place. Therefore the
 " other world is not over-filled. From this, let him seek
 " refuge. Therefore there is this verse :

" The thief of gold, the drinker of spirits, the defiler of the
 " teacher's bed, the slayer of prayer,—these four fall, and fifth
 " he who associates with them.

" And he who knows these five fires thus, not even by asso-
 " ciating with these is he stained by sin ; but pure and purified
 " he gains a holy world, who knows thus, who knows thus."

It would be easy to find reasons for regarding this as a later addition to the doctrine,—a teaching of tradition, rather than of revelation. To begin with, we should hardly expect a Rājanya to give the Brâhmaṇa precedence, in the enumeration of pure births, at the very moment when, having convicted the Brahmans, son and father of ignorance, he has received Uddâlaka as his pupil ; to be initiated for the first time into true wisdom, in the school of the Kṣhattriyas. Further, it is not in harmony with the spirit of that teaching to give such precise details of the destiny of reborn souls as could only pander to popular curiosity, but in no way lead to true enlightenment. So that in no passage of the Upaniṣhads do we find any soothsaying as to the decrees of Karma, as to the fruit of this or that act,—such as we do find, for example, in Manu's Code, which is the embodiment of Brahmanical tradition. If the path of rebirth is itself a destiny of darkness, to be shunned for the path of liberation, there can be no profit in promising this or that reward in a future birth, since such promise and hope can only bind a soul that should be free. Lastly, the fact that there is nothing to represent this passage in the older version of the Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣhad, would, in itself, justify us in regarding it as of later origin.

But these objections do not so fully apply to the codicil, or concluding line, which we have already translated from that Upaniṣhad, though we are strongly inclined to believe it did not originally stand there. For we can find a certain fitness in such a third alternative as is there suggested.

We have the two paths : the path of liberation for those who, free from selfishness, have recognised within them the true Self, the Real ; and the path of rebirth for those who,

under the bondage of the personal idea, selfishly seek for material success here, and sensuous delight hereafter. These two classes practically exhaust mankind. To the former belong the just souls, made perfect, who are as rare as the sacred flower of paradise. To the latter belong the vast majority of religious mankind ; and, as Tolstoi says, all mankind have some religion. Their fate is a reward in paradise, and, then, to be reborn into this world ; after death, yet another celestial reward, followed by a new rebirth. And this returning cycle is continued indefinitely, until they become free from the personal idea, untie the knot of the heart, and thus destroy the centre to which clung the downward forces of desire, whose re-assertion brought about the descent from paradise, and the new rebirth.

But there is yet another class, besides these two : those whose thoughts and imaginations have been so wholly confined to the material visible world, that they have, literally, no desires and aspirations beyond it ; no upward forces whatever to raise them at death to the superior worlds. Though without desires that lead upwards, they are not without tendencies downward. It will, therefore, follow, that they are immediately born again. To such, "immediately returning," might well be applied the image of "worm, or moth, or serpent ;" the worm and moth who so quickly reproduce themselves in their progeny ; the serpent who sloughs one skin, only to appear in another. To suggest that we are taught literally that those who have no upward desires leading them to the world of the Fathers are born as worms, moths, or serpents ; or, as the other version has it, dogs or swine, is to be guilty of a capital fault in critical insight, a failure to see that we are dealing with symbology all through ; here, not less than when day and night, sun and moon, are used as images of contrasted spiritual and material powers.

There is a passage in the fifth question of the Prashna Upanishad which sheds much light on the same question of three degrees in the destiny of souls. It is touched on, under the symbol of the sacred syllable, OM, which, in its three-fold division (*aum*), stands for the three fires or the three worlds we have already spoken of : the heaven-world ; the psychic world ; the physical world. The first letter, or measure, stands for the physical world of material life ; the second, for the psychic world of emotion and passion ; the third letter or measure for the celestial, spiritual world of pure will and wisdom.⁴³ Keeping this in mind, we shall have no difficulty in understanding what follows :

"Then Shâiva Satyakâma asked him : ' Master, he who here "amongst men, until he goes forth, meditates on the sacred "OM, which of the worlds does he gain thereby?'

⁴³ Mândûkya Upanishad.

" He answered him : ' This sacred OM, Satyakâma, is the
 " higher and lower eternal. Therefore he who knows, follows
 " after one of these by this offering : If he meditates on one
 " measure, informed by this, he immediately returns to the
 " world. Him the Rg. verses lead to the world of men, and
 " there, endowed with fervour, service of the eternal, and faith,
 " he enjoys greatness.

" ' And if he meditates in his mind by two measures, he is led
 " by the Yajur verses to the middle world, to the lunar world.
 " After enjoying expanded greatness in the lunar world, he
 " returns again.

" ' Again, he who meditates on this by three measures, as OM,
 " and through this syllable, meditates on the supreme spirit ;
 " endowed with brightness, with the sun, as the serpent is freed
 " from its slough, so he is set free from all that is evil ; he is
 " led by the Sâma verses to the world of the eternal ; he be-
 " holds the in-dwelling spirit above the highest assembly of
 " lives.' "

To express the same idea in other words, he whose mind is filled with only one aspect of life, the physical and material, is reborn immediately after death, because there are in him no upward tendencies to lift him to paradise.

He whose mind is occupied with the psychic world as well as the physical, having thus the forces and powers which, expanded, will build up his paradise, enters that paradise after death, and dwells there until these forces have run their course ; then
 " when his radiance has become quiescent, he is born again through the tendencies lying latent in his mind, according to his imaginings."⁴⁴

Lastly, he in whom spiritual being has been developed, as well as psychic and physical, has thus entered the real world, and in him the personal self has given place to the real self. In this way he is " clothed with the sun." As the real self, there is no necessity or purpose for any further rebirth in the unreal worlds ; for the real self " is the home of lives, the immortal, the fearless, the better way, from this they return no more."⁴⁵

In the passage we have translated, the Rg. verses stand for physical desires ; the Yajur verses, for psychic and emotional longings ; the Sâma verses for pure spiritual will.

It will be seen that we have here precisely the same teaching as in the history of King Pravâhana and his Brahman pupil. There is the way of liberation, of entry into the world of the real, the eternal. There is the way of rebirth, after a period of rest in paradise, " the lunar world ;" the duration of this period depends on the power and quantity, so to speak, of the longings

⁴⁴ Prashna Upaniṣhad, III, 10.

⁴⁵ Prashna Upaniṣhad, I, 10.

and aspirations that make for paradise, since these are real forces, subject to the law of conservation. Their distinctive element is that they are longings for paradise for oneself, for one's own personality, and therefore quite other than the pure spiritual aspiration towards the eternal, for the sake of the eternal. They contain within them that very centre of selfishness which makes liberation impossible; round which cling the latent material longings which will bring about rebirth, when the "radiance becomes quiescent," that is, when the longings for paradise have been satiated by dwelling there. Lastly, there is the way of immediate rebirth, through these same material longings, failing the existence of any desire for paradise. This rebirth, we are expressly told, is in the human world, the world of men; and this strongly supports what we have said as to the metaphorical meaning of the "worms, moths, serpents" in the former teaching. We have here no development of doctrine, as some critics are inclined to assert; but simply a symbolical expression, in the one case, of what we are told more directly, in the other case. We repeat again what we said already: Religions do not develope; they degenerate.

We saw that the condemnation to renewed earthly life after paradise is imposed, not, as we might expect, on immorality and sin, but rather on formal and selfish religion; on longings, called religions, for one's own well-being here and in the other world.

There is a passage in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣhad which brings out the same thought in a remarkable way.

"Infirm rafts are these, formed of sacrifice, wherein is
 "the baser work of the eighteen sharers in the sacrifice,
 "They who delight in this as better, fools, go again to decay
 "and death.

"Others, turning about in unwisdom, self-wise, thinking
 "they are learned, fools, go about staggering, like the blind
 "led by the blind.

"Turning manifold, in unwisdom, these children, thinking:
 "'We have accomplished the work'; busy with a work that
 "frees them not from desire, by this injured, they fall when
 "their worlds have faded away.

"Thinking sacrifices and gifts are best, deluded, they know
 "not the better way; after enjoying their good works at the
 "back of heaven, they enter this, or some lower world.

"But they who worship in the forest, with favour and faith,
 "peaceful, wise, free from worldly wealth; by the sun-door
 "they go forward, free from lust, where is immortal spirit,
 "the eternal self."

The very striking phrase, "the back of the heaven," vividly

pictures what we have called the material pole of the celestial world ; that region where self-centered longings build up a paradise of delight between death and rebirth. Yet again, we have the very just idea that the length of the sojourn there depends on the power of accumulated longing that has to be sated ; that is, on a quite intelligible law of mental and moral force, quite clearly conceived as such ; and not on any capricious favour of the gods. The whole passage is marked by indignation towards the most characteristic elements of the Brahmanical religion—those very sacrifices and gifts which were to win the favour of the gods, and thus secure the well-being of their worshippers. What is here attacked is that very priestly system represented by Shvetaketu and Uddâlaka, before the latter was initiated into the wisdom of the Râjan-yas ; the teaching which was, in all worlds, the hereditary teaching of the Kshatriya alone, and had hitherto reached no Brahman.

Only one detail remains to be touched on. In the parallel passages, in the Chhândogya and Brhadâranyaka Upaniṣhads, which contain the story of Pravâhaṇa and his pupil, it has been noted that, in one version, *tapas* is mentioned as distinguishing the sons of liberation ;⁴⁶ while, in the other, it is connected with the formal and selfish religion of the way of rebirth.⁴⁷ And critics have found a contradiction in this. There is really no contradiction. In the two passages, the word appears in two different and contrasted senses, for each of which quite sufficient evidence can be produced. When connected with the way of liberation, it means fervour, or fervent aspiration ; the union of intention and will ; or, insight into spiritual things, with power to make this insight effectual. Here, then, faith is the reaching up to the real, the spiritual ; while fervour is the illumination resulting from this, as well as the will which makes that illumination effectual in life. This is precisely the thought contained in the triad, *pistis, gnosis, sophia* ; that is, aspiration, illumination, accomplishment, *sophia* always carrying with it the idea of executive knowledge, that is, knowledge translated into act. This is the reconciliation of the old controversy between faith and works, when "works" are taken in the spiritual sense, as opposed to the ritual "works of the law."

When *tapas* is connected with the path of rebirth, its meaning is quite different. It now means "penance" or "mortification," undertaken with the aim of personal spiritual gain,—the very gain which sets up the centre of selfishness condemning the soul to renewed earthly life. Both these meanings are so well known and so well established that

⁴⁶ Chhândogya Upaniṣhad, V, 10, 1. ⁴⁷ Brhadâranyaka Upaniṣhad, VI, 2, 16.

It is unnecessary to cite authorities and examples in support of them.

This, then, is the teaching of rebirth and of liberation from rebirth. When rightly treated we can see that the deepest and most important spiritual questions are here raised, with singular penetration and lucidity; and that solutions are offered, which are worthy of the best consideration that the best minds can bring to them.

In the centuries or millenniums which have passed, since the Rājanya seer initiated his first Brahman pupil, neither the substance of these questions, nor our means of solving them, have changed at all. No advances that we believe ourselves to have made, whether in science or religion, invalidate in the least the soundness of the conclusion reached; even though much of our thought may have tended to the third alternative here suggested, the entire absorption in material aims. In this materialism, there is as little novelty as there is wisdom; though in the Upanishads it is treated as something other than a philosophic revelation:

"The great Beyond gleams not before the child, maddened
"by the lust of possession, deluded. 'This is the world;
"there is no other!'—thinking thus, he comes again and again
"under Death's dominion."⁴⁸

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

⁴⁸ Kāṭha Upaniṣhad, I, 2, 6.

ART. VII.—IS INDIA RUINED?

THIS question, which has been raised by a London daily and one of its correspondents, is not without a certain piquancy. It would certainly be what is vulgarly known as "nuts" to the envious foreigner if that vast and populous dependency, built up by British valour and genius—and made an Empire by Lord Beaconsfield—were to crumble and dissolve after so brief a term of life. It is not yet forty years since the provinces acquired by a chartered company were appropriated by the Crown; and the critics now assure us that British India is bankrupt, and that her inhabitants can be saved alive only by immediate transfer to native rule. India contains an area and population about equal to the population and area of Cis-Vistulan Europe; and the whole of this quasi-continent is said to be dependent on alms for its existence; save and except the few oases which have the happiness to be ruled by Asiatic despots. The British citizen is invited to rouse himself to so alarming a situation, and to insist peremptorily on a searching public inquest into the condition of his three hundred millions of dusky brethren. In the meanwhile the machine is ready to burst, and the British Government is sitting on the safety-valve. So say the pessimists, extreme, yet not perhaps without all show of reason.

To their alarming contentions, however, the official experts entirely demur. The finances may be in a temporary embarrassment, but that is through no fault of theirs. For the rest, the people of British India are better off than they ever were before having a free press, light taxation, and all the rights of British citizens not domiciled in the British Islands or in self-governed colonies. They can enter the administrative hierarchy through the same door of competitive selection that is open to native Britons; everything is done openly and in good faith; and the Indian Empire is the envy of admiring nations and the marvel of the age.

It would be presumptuous to decide such an issue on the evidence at present available, conflicting and defective as it is. The good-will and industry of the Anglo-Indian authorities cannot be denied. Their claim to exclusive experience and their always implied assumption that Indian administration is a mystery not to be understood by the uninitiated—whether in India or at Home—may not be completely admitted. No doubt, the state of the finances is partly due to causes beyond their control; imperial taxation is certainly light, especially so in the "direct" form; trade and the press are free; there

are Universities in India to control public education, and the young man who goes to London and submits himself to examination has a fair chance of entering the "Covenanted Civil Service" (or official hierarchy). All which can hardly be called "sitting on the safety valve."

On the other hand, a few facts are evident which go a long way towards justifying those who say that all is not well. India may not be ruined; indeed, to say that this was so would be a gross and manifest exaggeration in face of the admissions in the last paragraph. Yet that the system that has prevailed there for the latter part of the century has caused serious evils and dangers may, perhaps, not be so difficult to show. Ever since the great Liberalist movement of Europe, in 1830, doctrinairism has been active among civilised nations; and it may well be that the introduction of European novelties into the life of almost primeval communities has been like pouring new wine into old bottles.

In examining that view we should have to step back at least as far as the dawn of direct empire under Dalhousie: indeed, the actual commencement of the occidentalising process appeared in the days of Bentinck. It was that Governor-General (1827-35) who made English the classic of education for India in lieu of the learned languages of the East. But Bentinck had wise advisers, and his reforms were mostly of unquestionable benefit. Above all, he is noticeable as having made no conquests, and but one—a very small and justifiable—annexation.* His successors were occupied with war and external politics, so that they had but little leisure for philanthropic experiment. It was in the time of the ardent Dalhousie that the occidentalising process set in fast and furious.

His annexations made little impression at the time, or rather were almost universally accepted as justifiable and advantageous. They were of two kinds, of which only the second will affect the present question. The Punjab and Lower Burma were gathered in as the fruit of conquest; and even those who deplored additions to the load of "the weary Titan" were disposed to regard these as disagreeable duties to which no alternative appeared. But there were annexations of a second class of which the need was by no means clear, and which were chiefly justified on theoretic grounds.

The British Government, delegated to the company, had gradually taken the place of the old Moghul Empire, which had occupied a legal, if not latterly a substantial, overlordship in the country. Amongst other attributes of such a sovereignty

* Bentinck's administration began with a deficit, but ended with the substantial surplus of a *kror* and a half of rupees. Like other great men he died a commoner and undecorated.

had been the admitted power of confirming titles to the succession in Hindu and Moslem principalities, especially in cases where the prince should have died without natural heirs. In such cases—that is to say, among Hindu States—it was usual for a substitutive heir to be brought forward, either by adoption of the prince, or—where death had prevented him—of the widow or widows. The demands of Hindu law and the desire to preserve the dynasty combined to render such adoptions obligatory ; and their recognition by the paramount power was a graceful and appropriate feudal ceremony which had generally been willingly allowed by the Company. But the new Governor-General was a Scots noble of earnest mind and deep convictions ; and he thought that nothing was so conducive to the true welfare of the Indian races as to be brought under the direct influence of British administration. He therefore resolved that the confirmation of such adoptive successions should no longer be a mere ceremonial, or matter of course—as, with some specially exceptional cases, it had usually been—and he laid down the rule that in future no opportunity should be lost that should present an occasion for conveying the benefit of British administration to the inhabitants of feudatory states. This was the so-called “ doctrine of lapse ” which Dalhousie applied to several kinds of State during his protracted incumbency.

Differing, somewhat, from both classes was the annexation of Oude, consequent on the deposition of the titular “ king ” for incorrigible mismanagement of his dominions. This annexation was made under instructions from Home ; but by that time the Company had lost all initiative ; and the measure emanated, in all probability, from the Cabinet of Lord Palmerston. Nevertheless, this annexation also flowed logically from the Dalhousie principle, which may be best expressed in the Governor-General’s own words : “ I cannot,” he wrote, “ conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of any just opportunity for taking possession of States and for extending the uniform application of our system of Government.”

That policy, in its cruder shape, was, indeed, soon swept away by the logic of events. The year following the annexation of Oude brought the outbreak of Fifty-seven ; and, when the wrecks of that *Année Terrible* had been cleared away, one of the healing measures introduced by the first Viceroy was a permission to adopt without let or hindrance from the paramount power. But in other respects the introduction of Western ideas became more systematic, less controlled, than it had ever been before. New Codes were passed, an income-tax was imposed, the charges of administration increased rapidly, both in India

and at Home. Lastly, the Civil Service, the governing class of the country was no longer to be recruited by nomination, but was to be thrown open to young men from English, Scottish and Irish Universities, who might score the greatest number of marks in an open competitive examination.

Now, it may be quite right that selection by the most readily applicable form of scrutiny should be applied to certain careers. It is not, indeed, understood that this method of selection has received the practical stamp of approval in the general business of the nation ; we do not hear of bankers or mercantile firms appointing their subordinates by open competition : even Members of the House of Commons have to submit themselves to other tests. But, whether in the abstract right or wrong, the application of the system to natives of India desirous of taking part in the administration of their own country is a purely Western idea, quite foreign to oriental habits. Here, then, we encounter a sort of climax to all the other alien institutions which have ensued upon the assumption of direct Imperial rule, which is a virtual denial of the principles avowed by the great men of the Company's time, which cannot be agreeable to the Natives, and which has not been a complete success, even though it may not yet have brought about the "Ruin of India."

The principles above referred to were often expressed by Sir Thomas Munro, who died in harness as Governor of Madras, and by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who, for a memorable period, was Governor of Bombay. This may be called "ancient history" ; but the opinions of those eminent men will be found to derive special value from this very antiquity. For, if they pleaded for a generous confidence in native experience and ability before the experiment had been partly made and before the foundation of Universities and the general development of education had provided a crowd of competent candidates in India, how much more would they do so now ? As to their personal claims to consideration, let us revive for an instant that bygone time, and think what sort of record those men made in their own day.

"By the statesmen of sixty years ago," wrote his biographer in 1888, "Munro was regarded, as the ablest Indian official of his time." He goes on to cite the testimony of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Canning, "two men very different in character, by no means of one mind in politics, but cordially agreed in the high estimate which they formed of Munro. . . The late Lord Ellenborough, a man very unlike either the Duke or Canning, an unsuccessful administrator, but a remarkably shrewd critic, ranked Munro above all his Indian contempo-

* *Life, etc.*, by Sir A. Arbuthnot, K. C. S. I.

rarities.* His memory is still cherished, we are told, at Madras and in Southern India. Of Munro's friend, Mr. Elphinstone, we have similar, and even greater, things to cite. "During his first season in London"—in 1831, after his retirement from Bombay—"Anglo-Indians talked about him as . . . head of the Board of Control . . . The Duke of Wellington, who was now Premier, openly said he ought to return to India, possibly as Governor-General. Lord Ellenborough offered him the post of Ambassador to Persia. . . In August, 1834, when Lord William Bentinck's term of office as Governor-General was drawing to a close, the Chairman of the Company wrote to him proposing to submit his name to the Ministry . . . as Lord William's successor. . . . Towards the end of the year . . . Lord Ellenborough came back to the Board of Control . . . and offered Elphinstone the still vacant succession. . . . A few weeks later Elphinstone received yet another proposal—to proceed to Canada as Commissioner, to settle the bitter quarrel then pending between that colony and the mother-country." All these offers were successively declined.*

Surely, these were not men to urge opinions formed on insufficient knowledge or imperfect reflection. What those opinions of theirs were shall now be shown, as concisely as possible, but in their own plain and forcible language.

Munro, after serving thirty years in various subordinate posts, assumed the Governorship of Fort St. George (Madras) in June 1820, at a time when Canning was still President of the Board of Control, or, as we should now say, Minister for India. To him wrote Munro, soon after :—

"Our present system of government, by excluding all natives from power . . . is much more efficacious in depressing than all our laws and school books can be in elevating . . . We are working against our own designs ; and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve and a powerful one to deteriorate. The improvement of the character of a people and the keeping them, at the same time, in the lowest state of dependence on foreign rulers . . . are matters quite incompatible with each other."

And, further on in the same letter :—

"All real military power must be kept in our own hands but they might with advantage . . . be made eligible to *every Civil Office* under that of a member of the Government."

Three years later, in an important Minute on the state of the country, Munro returned to the subject, writing as follows :—

"Our books alone will do little or nothing. To improve the

* *Mounstuart Elphinstone*, by J. S. Cotton, M. A. ("Rulers of India.")

character of a nation, one must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment. *Without the prospect of such reward no attainments in science* will ever raise the character of a people. Let them be excluded from all share in the Government, from . . . every office of high trust and employment, and let them in every situation be considered as unworthy of trust—and all their knowledge and all their literature . . . would not save them from becoming, in another generation or two, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race."

This is, indeed, strong language from the old soldier-civilian ; and fortunately the alternative submitted by him did not fully come to pass. In the two generations that followed on the passing of this State-paper, a little opening was made to let natives of India in : small as it was, it was enough to keep open a loophole for hope ; and the educated natives have not evinced the total degeneracy feared by Munro. What has been done, however, slight as it has been, may fairly be ascribed to the original impulse given by this fine old officer.

With greater precision and moderation argued the scholarly and accomplished man who governed the Sister-Presidency at the same period. Elphinstone's views, says Mr. Cotton, were maintained by him consistently to the day of his death : and, be it remembered, they were the views not merely of an experienced administrator, but of a high-born patrician, energetic and able, but deeply versed in ancient and modern literature. Passing over writings in which Elphinstone echoes or confirms the opinions of Munro, we must make room for a few words in which he takes ground more especially his own :—

"It has always been a favourite notion of mine that our object ought to be to place ourselves in the same relation to the natives that the Tartars are in to the Chinese : retaining the Government and Military power, but gradually relinquishing all share in the Civil administration, except that degree of control which is necessary to give the whole an impulse and direction . . . The period at which they may be admitted to Council seems to be distant."

This was written privately, to an influential friend, in 1826 ; but the project forms part of a far-seeing scheme which the writer, both then and afterwards, held before himself as an ultimate ideal. What was to be the final goal, end, and termination of the paradoxical power of the British in India ? Not, as he hoped, overthrow by a mutiny of the Prætorians—though that was to be feared and watched against. This far-seeing man wrote to Sir James Mackintosh, as far back as 1819, that the "death of our Indian Empire" might find a seed in the Native Army—"a delicate and dangerous machine." Nor would he anticipate invasion by a foreign power, "if we can

manage our native army and keep out the Russians." Rather than ignominious fates of this sort, he preferred to look for "the improvement of the natives reaching such a pitch as would render it impossible for us to retain the government. . . . A time of separation must come ; and it is for our interest to have a separation from a civilised people rather than a violent rupture with a barbarous people in which it is probable that all our commerce might perish, etc., etc."

Nearly thirty years later Elphinstone wrote to a member of the Indian Government in the same strain:—"We must not dream of perpetual possession, but must apply ourselves to bring the natives into a state that will admit of their governing themselves in a manner that may be beneficial to our interest, as well as their own land and that of the rest of the world ; and to take the glory of the achievement and the sense of having done our duty for the chief reward of our exertions." In 1858, during the excitement of the Mutiny and the debates and discussions on the future Government of India, he went a step further, and remarked that a time must come when natives would have to be introduced into the new Council of the Secretary of State.

Such was the policy recommended by the two most distinguished of the Company's servants in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, nor was the recommendation quite unheeded. So far back as the time of Bentinck, it was promised that considerations of creed and colour should no longer affect appointments to the public service in India ; and, stating this principle, the Governor-General added that he was "determined to throw open the door of distinction to the natives, and to grant them a *full participation in all the honours and emoluments* of the State." This avowal of a local ruler was to a great extent adopted by the Queen's Proclamation on taking over the country in 1858. And in 1870 an Act of Parliament was passed to give effect to the policy.

Thus, after a lapse of half a century, it seemed likely that the qualified native was at last to be put into the position postulated for him by Munro and Elphinstone ; and to be offered a chance of becoming, in his own country, more than a head-constable, a tax-gatherer, or even a County Court Judge. Act 33 Vict. c. 3 provided that the authorities in India might appoint any native to any office, place or employment, subject to rules to be approved by the Home Government. In announcing this Act to the "Indian authorities," the Duke of Argyll—then Secretary of State—spoke of the "principle of careful and cautious selection," adding that "a more free employment of natives in the Uncovenanted Service and promotion *according to tried ability*, would seem to be the method

. . . least open to objection . . . a competitive examination of the best kind." It was not, however, till six years later that the rules contemplated were framed ; and up to 1882 there had been twenty-nine appointments of "statutory civilians" made in conformity with these provisions.

For some reason or other, the rules were then re-considered ; and the Act has been since that time more or less in abeyance. At present no Hindu, Muslem, or Parsi can hold any of the posts which the Act was intended to affect unless he is a member of the Civil Staff Corps known as the "Indian Civil Service," almost as complete and exclusive an oligarchy as the world has ever seen, and claiming a lien on all the best posts in the country. And to get his son into that service, an Indian parent must make up his mind to maintain him after he is grown up and to accept the expense and anxiety of sending him across the sea to a strange country, where he must pass three or four years away from his friends and kinsfolk, from the society of his fellows and the altars of his gods.

The opening to natives of posts of dignity and emolument under the direct control of the imperial Governors was thus once again—if not negatived—reduced to its most embarrassing conditions. But that was not the only way in which Asiatic ideas were capable of conservation, and the ideas of Munro and Elphinstone of being forwarded. The first impulse of the Home Government had been generous enough, and the proclamation which formed the inaugural charter is always understood to have been drawn up under the personal revision of the Queen herself. In the spirit of that weighty declaration Canning issued letters patent conferring on each feudatory chief the right of adopting an heir on the failure of male issue. About a year earlier the first Viceroy had already vested the Oude Barons with quasi-independent rights, which were destined to be more accurately defined a few years later. A new order of Knighthood was introduced, in virtue of which merit would be decorated without distinction of creed or colour ; and the Zemindar, Nawab, or Raja became the "companion" of the Secretary, the Member of Council, and the Lieutenant-Governor. Lastly, a substantial reform in the relations between the Government of India and the feudatory Provinces was tacitly introduced, by which the last remnant of Dalhousie's policy was torn away. Instead of seizing every opportunity of introducing British administration, every care was to be henceforth taken to maintain the old native rule. If a ruler proved incorrigibly weak or wicked, the remedy was to replace him by a better man, not to annex the State, confiscate the revenues, or substitute British officials for those hitherto employed. These unwritten laws have now become

a part of the Indian constitution, by prescription of time and by use ; and the Province of Mysore was in 1881, actually handed over to be administered by the ancient dynasty, the European officials being removed.

But these things have only been the work—the incomplete work—of one school of statesmen, and have been watched with jealous eyes by the disciples of Dalhousie. In the Viceroyship of Sir John Lawrence, a strong endeavour was made to reduce the power and rights of the Oude Barons, or Talukdars : and a still stronger attempt was made to discredit the administration of the indigenous chiefs by the same Viceroy. The affair was originated by no less a person than the present Premier, then—1867—Secretary of State for India. Lord Cranborne, as he was then called, had taken part in the debate which, after the fashion of Indian affairs, preceded by about thirteen years the retrocession of Mysore ; and in the course of his speech made some remarks about the comparison between native and British systems of administration which did not recommend themselves to Sir John's pre-conceived opinions. Whereupon there appeared a sort of confidential circular by the Viceroy, addressed to a number of selected officers, in which they were requested to "set out in writing the genuine outcome of their own experience and researches on the question broached by Lord Cranborne."* The officers addressed probably did their duty as honourable men ; but the public would have believed their report with more complete confidence had not the Viceroy given such a distinct lead in his circular by expressing the foregone conclusion that the subjects of British administration were happier than the rest of the Indian peoples, *Sua si bona nōrint*.

But, indeed, there could be but little doubt in any one's mind as to Lawrence's bias. A very short time after the suppression of the revolt of 1857, he had thus expressed himself :—

"Placed as we are, widely separated from the constitutional Governments of England and America, our Government is established, as all Governments should be, for the good of the people. But while, in their case, the popular will is generally taken as the criterion of the public good, that is not always the case in India. . . We are here by our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, and by the will of Providence. These alone constitute our Charter of Government, and in doing the best we can for the people, *we are bound by our conscience, not by theirs.*"

* *India under Victoria*, by L. J. Trotter, Vol. II, p. 231. The letter of the Government of India (drafted by the late Mr. John Wylie) was dated 1st July 1867.

This was going back to the days of the Puritans ; but it contrasted with the views of the other School, and with much of our own recent experience. Civilian management had not been so sympathetic or so fortunate in dealing with the Orissa famine just before the issue of the *Si bona nōrint* circular, but that the Viceroy might have had his doubts. Here was a case of dearth and scarcity not many miles from his own door in Calcutta ; and a firm in Calcutta urged upon the Viceroy the necessity of buying grain to pour into the afflicted districts. But because the Civilian Lieutenant-Governor and his Revenue Board objected to interference with "the laws of political economy," the proposal was rejected. This was in February 1866 ; and by the end of the year one million of deaths had followed. Lord Cranborne's doubts can hardly be said to have been without foundation : the Civilians of Bengal had no intelligent sympathy with their native subjects.*

This want of perception is, indeed, hardly to be wondered at, for it would not be easy to describe, in terms that would be generally intelligible, a Society whose very origin and frame are so different from anything with which we are familiar in Europe. We can only by a momentary effort realise the condition of races whose evolution is pre-historic and whose ideals are contemporaneous with Nebuchadnezzar. But, broadly transposed into the language of modern life, the social system is of some such kind as that of nations mentioned by Herodotus seen after more than three generations of Western influence. There is a Government administered by aliens exercising despotic sway with democratic maxims, together with a landed aristocracy clinging to existence in spite of all that British officials have done to bolster up the peasant-proprietors and village-communes. The members of this aristocracy are debarred from all paths of honourable ambition, and are naturally idle, extravagant, laden with debt and hastening to decay. There is a middle class—if "class" be not an inappropriate word for a number of disconnected individuals. The members are either lawyers, usurers, or minor Government employés. Lastly comes the proletary population, mostly engaged in agriculture or in ministering to the simple wants of the agriculturists, excepting a small minority who work in factories, dock-yards, tea-plantations, etc.

The rate of wages is very low—perhaps on an average not more than three pence a day—but in ordinary times it affords a bare subsistence. These poor people are all in debt, and

* In reporting this case Lawrence blamed the Lieutenant-Governor for giving too much confidence to his European Subordinates, not recognising that he had done the same himself.

when famine comes they have no resources : they must either go to the nearest relief-works or starve on their own dung-hills. Doubtless, this pauper-population has many advantages which were not enjoyed by that of the same regions a century ago. In 1783 there was a wide-spread drought, and a famine ensued which has left a deep impression on the popular mind. The *Calcutta Gazette* for May 1784 noted that at Lahore wheat was selling at the rate of a rupee for eight pounds ; and many parts of the Upper Provinces were entirely depopulated. In Central India and the Deccan things were probably better ; and the rice-crop did not fail in green Bengal ; but supplies could only have been sent up to the afflicted tracts by country-cart at the rate of ten miles a day ; and at the end of one hundred miles the stocks would have been consumed in feeding the oxen by which the carts were drawn. All this is now changed : when one part of India is afflicted with protracted scarcity, the high prices attract food-stuffs from quarters where these things are cheaper, and railroads diffuse the means of subsistence until prices become equalised : if the famine should unhappily spread over the whole land, grain is brought from more fortunate countries oversea at rates of freight brought down by competition of ship-owners. These are undoubted advantages directly attributable to British rule. Many others could be enumerated, did space permit. Peace is kept ; epidemics are stamped out ; the public revenue is raised with a minimum of oppressiveness, contracts are enforced, and so on.

But it may still be objected that the inherent "polarity" of human affairs asserts itself, and that all these glories have their attendant shadows. The easy diffusion of commodities causes death in the districts which are tapped by the rail ; taxation, if not oppressive, is inexorable ; the enforcing of contracts is sometimes crushing to the poor ; the cessation of war, the diminution of pestilence, the spread of cultivation and the destruction of snakes and tigers, remove natural checks on the increase of population where all marry on arriving at puberty. The enumeration of the people two generations ago was by no means made with scientific accuracy, but so far as can be learned—the inhabitants doubled in number between 1831 and 1891.

As the great majority are still dependent on the land for their living, this must be leading to an increased pressure on the means of subsistence. India is not ruined ; but it cannot be denied that she is in a position of crisis. Candour compels the admission that there are serious evils ; and that we are still confronted with the inherent difficulty of carrying on Western administration under Eastern conditions.

Nowhere does the danger of crudely thrusting Western

ideas into Eastern administration appear so strongly as in the treatment of famine relief so often mentioned in these pages. European political economy teaches non-interference, and the laws of supply and demand; making good its doctrines by induction to a certain extent. But suppose that the induction fails; that the supply is tied up and the demand excessive: that the stocks have wholly given out, or that the dealers have combined to establish "a corner." What is the use of establishing relief-works and paying wages daily, if there is no grain to be bought with the money? Nothing worse could happen than the Orissa famine in the worst administered native State; and it is the business of the Government of India to see that native States are administered well.

Therefore, without endorsing blindly all the criticisms and suggested reforms of the adversaries of things as they are, we may, perhaps, be thankful for them; and, whenever there is a question of transplanting the British oak to the bank of Ganges, beg for a pause to consider whether the banian tree may not be a more appropriate vegetation. Really this appears the only foregone conclusion with which the subject ought to be approached by any Briton conscious of the smallest share of responsibility.

ART. VIII.—THE CUSTOMS OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF INDIA.

THE position of India and its natural advantages of soil and climate leave little room for doubt that it was one of the earliest settlements of mankind.

The aboriginal inhabitants were a race of savages widely dispersed over the country. They lived in marshy tracts and caves, and subsisted on the chase, the first form of subsistence for man not yet merged from a state of utter savagery. To make the supply of food more certain, they, by and bye, reared animals and adopted the life of shepherds. They thus became a class of hunters and herdsmen. The use of metal being unknown to them, they used stones and flint-weapons for their warfare. Agate knives and hard unimpressible instruments of combat, supposed to have belonged to these early races, are still found in the Narbada Valley. These were succeeded by tribes still ignorant of the use of metal, who, extending as far as the depths of Central India, used polished flint axes and handy, well-shaped stone implements for hunting purposes and for war. Weapons of similar shape and size have been found in the North of Europe. Remains identified as of a yet later date show that after them came a race of people who had made fair progress in their mode of living and the arts of war and peace. They wore copper and gold ornaments, and fought with iron weapons. They knew how to make circular vessels of earthen ware. Their rude stone implements, articles of circular shape, and the upright slabs and mounds underneath which they buried their dead, have been excavated in different parts of the country, and coins of Imperial Rome have been dug out from their graves. Some of the Anamali hills in Southern Madras, which are now almost uninhabited, abound in great stone monuments, which the primitive tribes raised over their dead. Throughout the length and breadth of India, cromlechs, cairns and barrows are to be met with which are precisely similar to those of European countries. The hill people to the north of Sylhet still preserve this most ancient style of monumental architecture.

Such were the race of men invaded and conquered by a fairer race of the Aryans, who, descending from the north at some remote period of history, drove the people of the country invaded to the southern tracts, the slopes and spurs of the Himalayas, the steep and forest-covered ranges and the most barren and inaccessible parts of the country. They were driven to

forests, hills and remote lands in the same way as had been the Saxons on the Norman conquest of Great Britain, or as the Goths had withdrawn to the Galician and Asturian Mountains on the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

The aboriginal tribes observed no distinctions of caste. Their worship was a mean and despicable idolatry. The objects of worship were first the heavenly bodies. The Sun-god, styled Bura Pennú, was the God of Light. He was regarded as self-existing, omnipotent, mighty, the creator of all objects and persons and the source of good. The oblations to this god comprised a fowl with rice and the juice of cocoanut ; the priest in making the offering said :—

“You, O Bura Pennú, created us mortals, giving us the attributes of hunger: thence corn-food became necessary for our subsistence, and thence arose the need of fields that yielded harvests. You gave us every seed and gave us sense to sow them. You gave us bullocks ; made them obedient to our command ; taught us to make ploughs and to plow. Had we not been versed in this art, we could not have performed your worship. Grant the prayers we now make. In the morning we rise, before the light, to our labour, carrying the seed, and taking our bullocks to our fields. Save us from the tiger and the snake, from stumbling-blocks and from lightning, hail and storm. Let the seed appear like unto the earth to the eating birds and like stones to the eating animals of the earth. Let the grain spring up suddenly, like a dry stream swelled in a night. Let the earth yield to our plough-shares, as wax melts before hot iron. Let the hard clods melt like hail-stones. Let our ploughs spring through the furrows like the recoil of a bent tree. Let there be such a return from our seed, that so much shall fall and be neglected in the fields, and so much on the roads in carrying it home, that when we shall go out next year to sow, the paths and the fields shall look like a young corn-field. From the first times we have lived by your favor. Let us continue to receive it. Remember that the increase of our produce is the increase of your worship, and that its diminution must be the diminution of your rites.”

Next came to be worshipped the goddess-earth, called the Tari Pennú, having immediate command of all that is on earth. She was the creation and consort of Bura Pennú, the God of Light. Human beings being her daily food, nothing but human blood could console her. Hence the offering up of human sacrifices to propitiate the goddess. The Mariah and Kondh sacrifices were made until the British period, when a stop was put to them by the action of the English authorities. They were offered not only on behalf of individuals, but of whole tribes and communities desirous of averting the Tari's

wrath. The victim was either bought or brought up from infancy for the purpose. He was looked upon as a sacred object in life, and, when consecrated in childhood, was well nourished and even married, his children being subject to the same ritual on attaining the age of discretion. The earth, according to aboriginal belief, was originally soft. Since the institution of human sacrifices in honor of the Earth-Goddess, it had attained its present firmness, and the people inhabiting it have been happy and prosperous. The priests maintain that "since the institution of this ritual, the world has been happy and rich, both in the portion which belongs to the Khonds and the portion which belongs to the Rajas (Hindus). And society, with its relations of father and mother, and wife and child, and the bonds between ruler and subject arose, and there came into use cows, bullocks and buffaloes, sheep, and poultry. Then came also into use the trees and the hills, the pasture land, the grass, and irrigated and dry fields, and the seeds suitable to the hills and to the valleys, and iron and plough-shares, and arrows and axes, and the juice of the palm-tree and love between the sons and daughters of the people, making new households. In this manner did the necessity for the rite of sacrifice arise."

The mode of executing the unfortunate victim was horrible. He was tied to a post fixed in the midst of a multitude of spectators. The priest then came, and, addressing the victim, said :—

"The Earth-Goddess demands a sacrifice ; it is necessary to the world ; the tiger begins to rage, the snake to poison ; fevers and every pain afflict the people ; shall you alone be exempt from evil ? When you shall have given repose to the world you will become a God."

The village chief now comes and says :—

"This usage is delivered down to us from the first people of the first time. They practised it. The people of the middle time omitted it. The earth became soft. An order re-established the rite. Oh, child, we must destroy you. Forgive us. You will become a God."

The priest then reminded the assembled people that the Deity created the world and everything that lived ; that he was his minister and representative, and that in this capacity it was a duty imposed on him to make the sacrifice. He then wounded the victim slightly with his axe and the whole crowd then rushed on the sacrifice and stripped the flesh from the bones, the snatching away of a strip being considered a meritorious act and its possession a fortunate circumstance.

The priest then invoked the Tari Pennú :—

"You have afflicted us greatly ; have brought death to

our children and our bullocks, and failure to our corn ; but we do not complain of this. It is your desire only to compel us to perform your due rites, and then to raise us and enrich us. Do you enrich us ! Let our herds be so numerous that they cannot be housed ; let children so abound that the care of them shall overcome their parents, as shall be seen by their burned hands ; let our heads ever strike against brass pots innumerable hanging from our roofs ; let the rats form their nests of shreds of scarlet cloth and silk ; let all the kites in the country be seen in the trees of our village, from beasts being killed there every day. We are ignorant of what is good to ask for. You know what is good for us. Give it to us."*

It is clear from the above that, although the horrible practice of human sacrifice among the Khonds and Mairs was put a stop to during the British period, it had existed among the aboriginal tribes from times immemorial, and that their forefathers in remote antiquity practised it.

The objects of worship, after the heavenly bodies, were the elements of nature, which were more dreaded than revered, and honour was shown to them more to avoid dishonour and avert wrath than to secure bounty and beneficence. Similar considerations led to the worship of local deities of a malignant, oftener than a munificent type. The ministers and priests of these aboriginal races were sorcerers and conjurers, and they were believers in witchcraft and necromancy. They were, as a general rule, polytheists, not idolators like the later Hindus. They were devil-worshippers and paid religious reverence to the tiger, the leopard, the snake, to some prodigious stone or tree. Snake-worship indeed seems to have become general throughout India. The dynasty of the Nágás, or snake-worshippers, of Cashmere was converted to Buddhism only two centuries before the Christian era. The *Nag Panchmi* festival is still observed by the Hindús, and the snake devata, or God, worshipped on the appointed day by the votaries of the Brahma. Up to this day the remnants of the aboriginal tribes have divinities of their own different from those of the kindred tribes.

In religious and social matters, the aboriginal tribes stood in juxtaposition to the ordinary Hindus. General Briggs has drawn the distinction. Thus, while the ordinary Hindus are divided into castes, such a distinction is unknown to the aboriginals. Among the Hindus widow-marriage is forbidden. The aborigines not only remarry their widows, but they join her in marriage generally with the brother of the deceased husband, thus following the practice of the Scythian tribes in this respect. The Hindus venerate the cow and abstain from eating beef.

* Journal of Royal Asiatic Society for 1852, vol. XIII.

The aborigines feed alike on all flesh. The Hindus are forbidden by their religion to use fermented liquors. The aborigines drink to excess. No ceremony, civil or ecclesiastical is complete without it. Notice the festivals observed by *Chamárs* (workers in leather), *Kahárs* (bearers), *Ahirs* and *Gwalas* (cow-herds), barbers and other low castes in north-east and south of India, and Central India where the aboriginal element prevails. The Hindus carefully abstain from eating food not prepared by those of their own caste. They will not eat with men of another caste, or even with a wife if she belongs to another caste. The aborigines do not observe these formalities. They will partake of food prepared by any one, and will dine with a wife of whatever caste. Among the Hindus the spilling of blood is an unpardonable offence. The aborigines conceive no religious or domestic ceremony complete without sacrificing a live victim. Among the Hindus the office of priest is hereditary among the Brahmans. The aborigines recognise merit and supposed real worth for such an office. Any man skilled in magic and sorcery, in divining future events and in curing diseases by charm or spell, by the touch of hand, by breathing on the person afflicted, or by casting an eye on him or practising some mysterious act, is hailed as a priest and respected as such. He also authorises the slaughter of sacrificial victims. The Hindus burn their dead. The aborigines bury theirs, and with them their arms and sometimes also their cattle, as among the Scythians. On such an occasion a victim used to be sacrificed to atone for the sins of the dead. The Hindu civil institutions are all municipal. Those of the aborigines are all patriarchal. The Hindu Courts of Justice were composed of equals. Those of the aborigines were constituted of heads of tribes, or of families, and chosen for life.

The aboriginal worship survives to this day, in some form or other, among the Hindu community. The Revd. Dr. Stephenson, who has paid much attention to this interesting subject, attributes this to the inability of the Brahmans to suppress certain rites performed by the aboriginal races on their conquest. The Brahmans on that account adopted the ceremonial or festival into their own religion, representing this as a special boon to the deity concerned. Thus, in the Deccan, Vetāl, a chief of the Pishachas, the implacable or malicious foes of the old conquering tribes, is worshipped in the form of a stone coloured red beneath and white above to represent fire. He is placed within a circle of other stones, similarly coloured, with one stone outside as if for a sentinel, these other stones being taken as part of the fiend army under his command. He is propitiated by the sacrifice of a cock whose

blood is offered to the deity in a vessel, and he smells it and is satisfied. The cultivators in the Deccan extensively worship the Mhasohas represented in round stones, stained with red lead. The Holi festival, which gives license to the Hindus to commit a variety of excesses, is held in honour of a female Rakshas, named Dhunda, who, before her slaughter by the Maha Deva, obtained a solemn pledge from him that she should be worshipped every year in a style of unusual joy and merriment. The Dewali festival was, according to Kartika Mahahtyma, established as a boon conferred on an Asura and a Daitya slain by the Brahmanical gods. Yamana, after subduing the Balli Kingdom, failed to suppress the festival, and it was made a part of the Brahmanical faith.

The struggles for supremacy between the Aryans and aboriginal tribes have been commemorated in the Rig Veda, literally 'fount of knowledge,' or 'fount of vision,' the earliest Hindu records, believed, from the agreement of the solstitial points with those cited in the Vedas, to have been arranged in the fourteenth century before the Christian era, or 3,300 years ago. The Vedic poets of course narrate their stories from tradition and from rites already observed; so the influx of the Aryan immigrants must have preceded the compilation of the sacred hymns, and, as these were composed at several periods, the work of immigration must have continued for several ages, the exact period of which is quite uncertain. The hymns were committed to memory by the Aryan bards, and in this form descended from father to son for several generations as a sacred heritage, until the invention of writing enabled the priests to put them more permanently on record.*

The victors had little sympathy for the vanquished aboriginal tribes and called them by scornful epithets. They styled them the Dasyas or 'enemies,' the Dásás or 'slaves,' 'Rakshasas,' or monsters, titles which were not such as to create a favorable impression of the new comers in the minds of the original inhabitants. In the Vedic hymns they are called 'flat-nosed' and 'dark-coloured.' Indra is described as having torn off the black skin of Asura†, 'the aggressor.' He is again referred to as having 'scattered the black sprung servile hosts,' and is styled as 'the slayer of Vritha' and 'the destroyer of cities.' He is invoked to destroy the dark colour of the Dasás by annihilating them, and to shelter and protect the colour of his worshippers, for the latter were not always victorious in the struggles for supremacy, and it happened at

* The Vedic hymns consist of 1,017 lyrical poems and 10,580 verses. They have been translated into English by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson.

† Asura is one of the names by which the aboriginal tribes are referred to in the Vedas.

times that the tables were turned in favor of the 'black skin,' who became victorious. In course of time the word Dásá was accepted to denote servitude, and taken as equivalent to a common menial or slave. Being themselves of fair complexion and possessing well-shaped features, the invaders called the subdued people 'black men,' and black they essentially were. Their physiognomy very much resembles that of the Mongolians, or Negritos, the colour being almost black, the hair coarse and woolly, the lips thick and projecting, and the nose short and flat. The agreement to this day between the habits of the descendants of these races, still living a primitive life and inhabiting different parts of the world widely separated from one another, their mode of life and the implements they use, is most striking. The boomerang used in early times by the natives of Australasia, which is preserved in the British museum, corresponds exactly with the missile used for similar purposes by the wild tribes of Southern India. A curious and interesting resemblance exists between the bows, arrows, javelins and spears used by the wild tribes in inaccessible regions, and their common agreement, coupled with their resemblance in a greater or less degree in features and habits, is proof that, however remotely situated from one and another, they have descended from one common stock, and that of Turanian or Scythian origin.

Many Hindi words of non-Sanskrit origin bear a close resemblance to the Tartar, or, properly speaking, the Turanian tongue. Philologists have discovered that about one-tenth of the words used in Hindi are of non-Sanskrit origin. As we go further to the south, we find that one-fifth of the words in Mahratti are not Sanskrit. Proceeding still further southward it will be found that the languages spoken there, namely, the Telugú, Tamil, Malayan and Canarese languages, are more free from the mixture of Sanskrit. The words used in these languages agree in roots and construction, and the dialects and idioms bear a close resemblance to each other; and, as they exhibit more or less affinity to the Tartar tongues, it is clear that the first wave of conquest from the north which rolled over India was of Turanian origin. From Beloochistan to Burma, the affinity of the aboriginal tribes may be read through their countenances, in their dark colour, high cheek bones, flat noses, thick lips, broad jaws, wide chins, deficient beard and round faces.

The aborigines, from their contact with the Aryan and Western invaders, have, to a certain extent, abandoned their savage habits, and adopted civilized life. They till the soil, live in huts or mud houses, wear clothes, and have formed themselves into village communities. They also exchange the

products of their lands for articles of daily life, such as cloth and brass utensils ; but for all that they completely differ from the civilized people in their habits and customs, mode of living, religious beliefs and language. They shun the society of reformed men and adhere strongly to their ancient peculiarities, religious beliefs, rites and superstitions. Others of them who may be called the lowest types of human beings, still live a life of savagery, in dense unhealthy forests and jungles, or inaccessible recesses of mountains and tracts of low hills. They live almost naked in rude huts, and, like their forefathers in remote antiquity, whose character was portrayed by the Aryans in the Vedic poems more than 3,000 years ago, subsist on the chase or such fruits, herbs and roots as are known to them and are within their reach. The wilder tribes of Gonds in the Central Provinces still cling to the forest, and subsist on the chase. Before the rise of the Mahrattas, this ancient race ruled the Central Table-land. Quite recently they used flint points for their arrows. The tract of country between the Vindhia and Jujadri hills, which further on extends to the east, emerging into a vast forest tract, forms the chief range of the Indian aborigines, and is marked in the maps as Gondwara, or the country of the Gonds. They have a legend that their ancestors were created at the foot of the Dewalgiri peak. Until lately they buried their dead with the feet turned to the north, under the belief that this would enable the dead to start readily, when recalled to life, to the north, his ancient home. This, of course, points to the fact that, though living in the burning deserts of Central India, they preserved a dim memory of the times when their primogenitors in ages gone by lived on the mighty hills. The practice of polyandry, according to which one woman becomes the common wife of several husbands, is still practised in some of the Himalayan hill tracts, as well as among the Nairs, an aboriginal tribe of South-Western India. The Puliards of Southern Madras, a ravenous wild-looking people, with long loose hair, worship demons and live on jungle products, mice and such small animals as they are able to catch. The Mundáwás have no fixed abode, but wander in the jungle, shelter themselves under the shade of small trees and graze their cattle in the innermost hills.

The Andaman Islanders in the Bay of Bengal are the rudest specimen of the aboriginal races. When the British officers visited the Islands in 1855, to establish a colony, they were surrounded by ferocious fierce-looking naked cannibals. They used a particular noise, like a savage cry, to denote joy, sorrow, friendship or enmity, and on festive occasions daubed themselves with red earth. They worshipped

an evil spirit which caused diseases, and which they extolled as their sole deity. They attacked the British with showers of arrows, and it was only by slow progress that they could be induced to build sheds close to the British settlement.

The Marias of the Central Provinces use, as their war weapon, bows of great strength which they hold with their feet, drawing the string with both hands with much force. The Maris, a still wilder race, were so shy that they fled from their huts on the approach of a stranger. The officials of the Raja levied the yearly tribute by beat of drum, when the representatives of the tribe placed the tribute in the shape of jungle products, &c., at the appointed place, and then fled to their jungle retreats, never daring to approach the men who had come to collect the taxes.

In the tributary hill states of Orissa there is a tribe known as the Juangs, literally the leaf-wearers, whose females wore no clothes, and the only articles with which they covered their person were a bunch of leaves tied before and behind, and a few strings of beads round the waist. Those under British influence were induced through the heads of clans to wear strips of cotton, but many of them are reported to have relapsed to their foliage attire. They had no knowledge of metal and had no word for iron in their language, and used flint weapons until quite recently the foreigners taught them the use of metal. The head of the family with all the female members lives in one small hut, while boys and young men occupy separate quarters of the hamlet. Some of the Assam hill-men are of black colour, small size and fierce look. They live a primitive life, have no words to measure lands or compute distances while on travel. They measure the length of their journey by the quantity of betel leaf they chew, or the number of quids of tobacco they consume on the way. The Bhils of Khandes and Rajputana were formerly a predatory clan. They have now been converted into peaceable cultivators and loyal soldiers. The Mhairs of Rajputana were another marauding race of aborigines, who for centuries were known as exterminators. Many of the Santáls north-west of Calcutta are hunting forest tribes. They are mostly of very low stature, but stout and well proportioned. They have their Race-gods, Tribe-gods and Family-gods, and they revere the spirits of their forefathers, as well as river-spirits, forest-spirits and evil spirits, and offer oblations to mountain-demons, well-demons and a countless host of other unseen beings. The Santals respect their women, and no one is allowed to take more than one wife. Young people make their own choice. The 'Great Mountain' is the Race-god of the Santals. It is also an object of worship by the other aboriginal tribes, a circumstance indicating that in

remote antiquity those tribes, like their conquerors, migrated from the northern hills.

The Garrows, a tribe inhabiting the north-east, are black. Mr. Elliot, in a paper cited by Sir William Jones speaks of them as possessing noses "flat Cafri (negro) like." According to General Briggs the British officers engaged against the Bhils in 1816, "came back with a notion that their features partook of the African negro." Such is the trait of the aboriginal tribes of India which struck early observers. And they have borne this trait for more than 3,000 years, for they are called black in the Vedic hymns, the oldest record of Hindu civilization.

The Bedars of the Deccan are a most warlike aboriginal tribe. They were subdued only towards the end of the last century by a dynasty of Mahomedan conquerors, that of Mysore. The Bedar Raja of Sorapore in the Nizam's dominions surrounded by his faithful tribe claims a lineage extending over thirty centuries.

The Kandhs, another large group of the non-Aryan race, inhabit the steep and forest-covered ranges that rise in the deltas of Orissa and Madras. They, like the Santals, have a multitude of race-gods, tribe-gods and a host of malignant spirits and demons. But the chief among the objects of worship was the Earth-god, to propitiate which human sacrifices were made twice a year, namely, at the times of sowing and reaping of the harvest and on occasions of special distress and calamity. The victims were kidnapped from the plains, and a stock in reserve was kept in every thriving Kandh village to meet any emergency that might arise. Full particulars of this horrible ceremony have already been given. As the time for sacrifice arrived, the victim was brought to the appointed place with great ceremony, was welcomed at every house he passed on his way, and sacrificed among the shouts of the populace, it being whispered in his dying ear, that he had been purchased for price and that he would go straight to the heavens. His blood and slices of his flesh were distributed to the village people as sacred and precious objects which would bring blessings on the family and peace and plenty on their land and cattle. The human sacrifices were abolished under British rule, and the Kandh priests told that the Earth-god could as well be appeased by a sacrifice of goats or buffaloes under that government. Among the Kandhs caste distinction is unknown. A bride is bought by the bride-groom's father for a price. She must be several years older than her husband elect, and must remain as a servant in her father-in-law's house until her boy-husband grows old and is able to live with her. The chief ceremony at a Kandh wedding consists of the forcible carry-

ing away of the bride in the middle of the feast by the party of the bridegroom.

That the predominating and essential element of the Indian population was aboriginal race is apparent from the circumstance of their having given names to many districts and towns. Thus the Bengis gave their name to Bengal. They are found not only in Bengal, but as far north-west as Delhi. The Tirhus gave the name to Tirhut, and the Koles to Kolwan and Kolywára. Numbers of these Koles have emigrated as labourers to Mauritius. A race west of the Iravulli hills and as far south-west of India as Goa called the Kolis, is supposed to be another branch of the Kole tribe. They work as fishermen or ferrymen, and many act as porters. According to General Briggs, when Europeans had their first dealings with them and employed them as porters, they were called Kulis (a corruption of Kolis), and the word is now applied to all porters without distinction of race or caste. The Bhils gave their name to Bhilwara or Bhilwan, the Gonds to Gond-wána, the Mans to Mandesa, the Malas to Malda or Malpur, the Domes to Domapúr, the Mahars to Maharashtra and the Mirs to Marwara. The prevalence of the power of the Mirs is attested by such names, given to large towns, as *Ajmir*, *Jasslemir*, *Kashmir*, &c. The hunters, have left few landmarks behind, but the pastoral tribes called by the Hindus Gwals and Ahirs have left a monument behind in the name of such cities as Gwalior, Gyalgarh (Gwalgarh), Asir, &c.

It has already been noted that the aborigines point to the hills on the north of India as the home of their ancestors. Recent writers have divided them into three great stocks. The first stock is styled the Dravidian, a people supposed to have entered the Punjab by the North-Western passes. Being driven away by the Aryan invaders, they found refuge, after long wanderings, in the sea-girt extremity of the Peninsula of India, and they now inhabit the southernmost part of the country, as far down as the extremity of Cape Comorin. The Sanskrit authors style the races of the south by the general name of Dravidas. The new non-Aryan immigrants held them in such hatred that intercourse with them was considered profane. There is a passage in the Code of Manu laying down that the Aryans who go to live in Dravida, the Tamil country, are *ipso facto* cut off from their brethren. The language of these non-Aryan tribes was so uncouth that the refined Aryans called them by the name of Mlechchas, meaning people of broken speech, or rude, imperfect utterance, but they have nevertheless at the present time given their language to twenty-eight millions of people in Southern India. Their dialect, equally with the languages of the Aryans who subdued them, seems, however, to have sprung

from the same fountain, the north-west of the Himalayas. Remnants of these Dravidians, known as Brahuis, entered the Punjab from the Sindh passes long before the Aryan invasion, and their dialects resemble the primitive Central Asian languages. The principal tribes of the Dravidians are the Gonds in the Central Provinces, the Uraons in Chota Nagpur, and the hill-men of Raj Mehal or Máler.

The second group is called the Colarian. The non-Aryans under this group are believed to have made their way into Bengal by the North-Eastern passes. The Santáls are the most numerous of the Colarian race. The Kirkus, another Colarian, but less numerous tribe, inhabiting the west of the table-land, speak a dialect resembling the Santáli. The Savars, another branch, are a wandering race of wood-cutters inhabiting Northern Madras and Orissa. Their fragments have been traced in Central India and Rajputana. The Juangs, a remnant of the non-Aryans, have a common origin with the Colarians whose words they have unconsciously preserved in their language. There are nine principal languages of the Colarian group, some of which are separated only by dialectical differences. Some of the isolated tribes of the Colarians who entered India by the north-eastern route are still to be seen in their hill fastnesses and forest retreats around Bengal, and the dialects they use are akin to those of the Chinese.

The third group called the Tibeto-Burman is of a later growth. It is believed to be an offshoot of the great wave of Mongoloid immigrants who, leaving their home in Central Asia in remote times, found their way into the upper basin of the Brahmaputra Valley, but a great portion of them made their way towards the sea in the Burmese peninsula, or made choice of the table-lands of Tibet and the higher culturable vales of the Himalayas for their home. They came less in contact with the Aryan invaders than their brethren of the first two groups, and their social organisation was therefore less influenced by the changes introduced by the new-comers.

The aborigines who kept aloof from the Aryans, or remained in an isolated state have, more or less, preserved their national characteristics. But the bulk of their castes and tribes, by coming in contact with the Aryan invaders, have been merged into Hinduism, and, rising in the scale of civilisation, have lost their identity in the Hindu community. The crushed tribes of the aborigines, whose nationality has been swept away by the waves of Aryan invasions and Mahomedan inroads, are the Bhars, formerly masters of the Central and Eastern tracts of Oudh, and the traditional fort-builders, to whom are popularly attributed the ancient ruins, and who were crushed by Sultan Ibrahim Shirki of Jounpur in the 15th century; the Gaulis, an

ancient ruling race in Central India, the Ahams of Assam, the Gonds of Nagpur, the Chandals, the Bundelas of Bundelkand, and the Bhils of Khandes. Certain low castes and out-castes preserve their national characteristics to this day, though they are surrounded by Hindu and Mahomedan populations. Among these are included the Gipsy clans, such as jugglers, tumblers or rope-dancers, scavengers, basket-weavers, greengrocers, cobblers, serpent-charmers, monkey and bear-tamers, and certain other wandering wild tribes.

The humanising and salutary influence of British rule and the sympathising co-operation and tenderness of its officers, coupled with the vigilance exercised over them, have turned many of the aboriginal tribes from highway robbers and marauders into peaceful cultivators and loyal soldiers. They have changed their bloody weapons and rude warlike implements for implements of husbandry, or for arms to be used for the defence of the Empire which has given them peace. British enterprise has laid open before them new fields of energy and activity, and their determined valour and indomitable courage as soldiers, and unswerving loyalty and devotion as servants, have formed the subject of warm eulogies in official reports. According to General Briggs the aborigines of the Carnatic were the soldiers under Clive and Coote, and they fought heroically at the celebrated battle of Plassey under the former General. Colonel Dixon, in his report to the Board of Directors, dwells at some length on the "fidelity, truth and honesty" of the Mhair tribes of Rajputana. Sir James Outram took the Bhils of Khandes so much into his confidence as to make their chiefs his hunting companions.

The little Gurkhas of the Nepal hills, ruddy-faced, short and stout, fought gallantly side by side with the British before Delhi.

Colonel Todd, in his unrivalled work on Rajistan, speaks warmly of the truthful habits of the hill-races, their attachment to their masters, and their implicit obedience to recognised authority.

The non-Aryans, whom the Vedic tribes encountered on their march to the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges, are believed to be a different race from the Dravidians of the South, who must have immigrated into India long before the former tribes. The belief is strengthened by the fact that, unlike the non-Aryan tribes of the regions of the Indus and the Ganges, who opposed the new comers and are by them styled in the Vedic hymns as *Dasyus* or enemies, and *Sudras* or Serfs, the non-Aryans of the South are described as friendly forest people, whose Monkey armies assisted Rámá, the great Aryan hero, against the demon King of Lanka or Ceylon.

That the non-Aryans of the north-east were Scythianised by a conquering race long before the Aryan invasion of India does not, I think, admit of any doubt. The hill men of Nepaul, short in stature, but stout and strong; the Garos of Bengal, with round face and light or deep brown colour and small eyes, and the Santhals, another small people, have evidently a Scythian mixture in them. The evidence afforded by fragments of prehistoric speech, and the Prakrit or ancient spoken dialects, further shows that the black races received such civilisation from the conquering tribes of the north-east as the latter possessed, for in the Vedic hymns, composed many generations ago, the Aryan singers speak of those races in terms showing that they were not mere savages, but were familiar with the arts of life. Thus, Indra, the early Hindu god, is described as "destroying the cities of Dasyus," "levelling with the ground the well-built dwellings of the Asuras," and "annihilating perennial cities of the Asuras." He is eulogised as "the destroyer of hostile and ungodly cities," and "the slayer of the Dasyus and the destroyer of their iron cities." He is invoked "to repair to the cities inhabited by the Rakshasas." He is celebrated as "having bowed down the thunderbolt of the ungodly Asura" and as having "with the adamantine thunderbolts destroyed the hundred ancient cities of Samhara."

Further to the south we find the testimony of the Tamil language, which has not only survived the learned Sanskrit language, but contains a literature scarcely inferior to its rival, to prove that, long before the Aryan advance to that part of the country, the aboriginal races of the Dravida had attained to a degree of civilisation not inferior to that of their brethren in the north-east. When the Aryans visited the North-Western frontier, the Gauda Dravidians were already found in flourishing communities. According to Bishop Caldwell, they formed marriage ties, were acquainted with agriculture and the art of war. They armed themselves with "swords" and "spears," and made use of "bows", and, "arrows." They knew the arts of "spinning," "weaving" and "dyeing," and their sepulchres show that they were well versed in "pottery." They were ruled over by "kings" who dwelt in "strong houses." There is also evidence to show that they had a "powerful kingdom" existing in the south, which long successfully opposed and withstood Brahmanical invasion. It was no doubt the wealth possessed by the aboriginal tribes that stimulated the fiercer race from the north to deprive the original inhabitants of the country, who were leading a peaceful life, of their liberty, reduce them to bondage and render them homeless. "Festivals" were not unknown to them, and these were presided over by "mins-

trels" who recited 'songs.' They worshipped God, whom they called Ko, or King, and constructed "temples" in his honour which they styled Ko-il, or the house of God. The Gauda Dravidians tilled the soil and worked the mines. Their presence at a very early period can be traced from the north-west across to the north-east, and from both extremities to the furthest south. "Philosophy" and "Grammar" were entirely unknown to them, and they had no words to express the operations of the mind. Numerals were known to them up to a hundred, and some could count up to a thousand.

Bishop Caldwell fixes the period of the Aryan emigration to the south at B. C. 350. The Aryans settled in the new country not as conquerors but as instructors, diffusing, in the land of their adoption, the Brahmanical civilisation which they brought with them. The Brahman priests came to be called sages and hermits. They diffused Sanskrit, made kings their disciples, and were not only revered, but came to be worshipped as deities. The sage Agastya, who introduced philosophy into the court of the first Pandyan king, became a deified hero. He composed many treatises, and is believed to be still alive, though invisible to wordly mortals. He shines in the heavens as the mightiest star on the regions of Southern India. Even the stupendous Vindhya Mountains prostrate themselves before him, and the sacred river Tinneveli springs from the hills, his supposed home, and is called after his name. The Brahmans came to be called the "fathers" of the Dravidian races less advanced in the arts of life, and, although they called them Sudras, they were not as a class treated with contempt or despised and scorned as their brethren of the north, and the ideas of servitude did not prey on their mind. That was, however, only the commencement of Hindu civilisation among the Dravidians—for the task of real reform was not accomplished, until the 8th century of the Christian era, or the rise of Kumarila, the Brahman reformer of Behar, who gave a fresh impulse to intellectual activity.

I have already adverted to one of the earliest waves of Indian conquest being of Scythian or Turanian origin. That more than one wave swept over the country, is rendered probable by the circumstance of the Scythian words spoken in the northern families of the Indian tongues differing to some extent from those used in the southern families. The Turanians subsequently achieved great celebrity in temple-building in India. They were not devoted to war, or versed in literature and science, but they were such expert temple-builders as the world has never seen. Ferguson, the great authority on Indian architecture, in his admirable work, has dwelt at full length on the Turanian temple-building in India. The pagodas

built in several parts of Madras were, according to him, erected by the race of men which the Brahmans conquered and in part destroyed. All belonged to pre-Aryan stocks, and many must have become the ancestors of the Sudras in the south and presumably of tribes inhabiting other parts of India.

Although more than 3,000 years have elapsed since the aboriginal tribes were subdued by the fair Aryans, yet the belief that they are the real and rightful masters and owners of the soil seems still to pervade them. Go into the deep forests of Gondwana in Central India for purposes of sport. The tawny wild men who act as your guides or hunters, if asked about deserted cities, ruined hamlets and mutilated stone walls of ancient forts, marks of old embankments, tanks and other excavations which will meet your eye here and there in your sojourn in the wilderness, will tell you that they were the works of their ancestors, the old Gond Rajas. There is a saying among the Minas of Rajputana that the Raja is the proprietor of his share of produce, but the Mina is the proprietor of the land. In spite of their faithfulness as servants and their attachment to their masters, the feeling that lies at the bottom of their inveterate habits of spoil and plunder is that of their being the rightful occupants of the country, the true and real owners of the soil ; for what they take they regard as their own. Even the Hindus seem to admit their primitive title. The installation of a new Raja of Merwar in Rajputana is not considered complete until the blood drawn from a Mina's toe is applied on the forehead as a *Tikah* or emblem of royalty. The same ceremony is observed on the succession of the Raja of Udepur, one of the most ancient Hindu principalities in Rajputana, showing that the primordial title of the aborigines is still recognised.

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ART. IX.—BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON.

Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, British Resident at the Court of Nepal, Member of the Institute of France, Fellow of the Royal Society ; a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, etc. By Sir WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K. C. S. I., M. A., LL.D., a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, etc. JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street. London: 1896.

IT is now more than fifty years since Brian Houghton Hodgson terminated his political career. A new generation of Anglo-Indians has arisen since then to whom his name is little more than a vague memory, and who are not even aware of how much India owes to the indomitable energy, courage and acumen of the brilliant young civilian who, passing into the Company's service at the unusually early age of eighteen, worked his way up to the post of Resident in Nepal before he had completed his thirty-third year. In Europe it is on his achievements as a scientist, and an oriental scholar that his fame chiefly rests ; and the important services which he rendered to his country in her eastern empire—his efforts in the cause of vernacular education—his schemes for the enlistment of Ghurkhas into our army, and for opening up trade with Nepal—are already but dimly remembered even by those destined to be most benefited by them, a reproach which Sir W. W. Hunter's recent book on the subject will doubtless do much to remove.

Brian Hodgson was born in 1800, at Prestbury in Cheshire, where his father occupied the position of a country gentleman following no profession, but employing himself chiefly in sport, a taste which he transmitted to his son, who managed, in after years, to turn it to good account during his labours in Zoology and Ornithology. When Brian was still but a child, his father, thinking to improve the prospects of his increasing family, went into partnership with a cousin in a bank in Macclesfield which, after a brief period of prosperity, failed, leaving Mr. Hodgson a practically ruined man. Fortunately, however, his wife who appears to have been a woman of singular beauty and great strength of character, had influential friends ; and one of them, the Earl of Clarendon, procured for her husband the post of guardian of the Martello Towers, while a few years later Mr. James Pattison, another old friend and a Director of the East India Company, secured a nomination for Brian to the Company's Civil Service, and after passing a successful examination, he entered Haileybury and came out to India in 1818.

From that time forward till he was past middle life, it may almost be said that he was the mainstay of his chronically impecunious family—making an allowance to his parents; starting his brothers in life, and paying their debts after their death; providing the means to meet the expenses of his sisters' marriages, and, in short, doing all that in him lay to lighten the pecuniary burdens which pressed on the old folk at home, and which kept him, almost to the end of his career, a comparatively poor man. So heavy was the drain on his purse that, even with a salary of Rs. 4,000 per mensem, he was unable to free himself sufficiently from debt to allow of his taking a much needed holiday to England, and in 1836 we find him, in a letter to his father in which he sets forth some of the heavy demands he has had to meet on account of his brothers, writing as follows:—

"May I hope, then, to be excused making you a remittance this year? My pension period is approaching, and I shall have to pay half its value, or Rs. 50,000, ere I can get it. But whence obtain the money, if I never begin to save? And what will country and kin be to me, if I stay above twenty-three years at one stretch in this land? I have, I hope, still a warm heart and a true, but Nature will assert her authority; and as you so beautifully say in reference to poor Ned as compared with me, the golden links which bind us are not proof against the vile solvent power of Time, and absolute non-community of ideas and pursuits.

"Try it how we will, we cannot keep up a community of that sort for years unnumbered; and gradually all images of affection become shadows of shades. If then we are to know each other again in this world, I must hasten to you in 1840. Nor will I fail, should impecuniosity not interpose. Meanwhile do, if you can, keep the idea of me distinct; for it was not with a dry eye that I read your unintentional declaration to the contrary. I remember you and my mother as freshly as though we had parted yesterday. Yet it is true that the details of the image was fainter and fainter. God's will be done."

The India to which young Hodgson came was very different from that with which we are acquainted, and it is difficult for even the most imaginative among us to realise how great that difference was.

"India," says Sir W. W. Hunter, "was a place of exile to a degree which we of the present day can scarcely understand, and the exiles found far fewer interests outside the routine of their ordinary work. The alleviations of Indian existence which we regard as matters of course—a cheap and abundant supply of ice, the European telegrams every morning at breakfast in varied and well-written newspapers, the weekly mail from England with its budget of letters and new books, the summer trip to the hills, and the inexpensive frequent holiday home—were all unknown to our forerunners in Bengal at the beginning of the century.

On the other hand they had the hookah, the heavy midday meal, and the still heavier afternoon sleep. English ladies, although more numerous than formerly, had not yet acquired an absolute predominance in Calcutta, or completely imposed their social standards. Some

of the great Calcutta houses have wings or annexes which are still pointed out as the native female apartments of those days. Calcutta society, which now strikes a new-comer as bright and friendly, only left an impression of weariness in the memoirs of a century ago. Macaulay's recollections of the Calcutta dinner-parties as combining the dulness of a State banquet and the confusion of a shilling ordinary refer to a period not long after Hodgson's arrival.

Brian Hodgson entered the College of Fort William, for a year, to perfect himself in the native languages and to study Indian law, his companions being all very young men who, with a superabundance of animal spirits and plenty of leisure, made the most of both by indulging in extravagances and follies which, though regarded with good-natured leniency by society in those days, would be voted bad form by Calcutta society of to-day. Hodgson, however, does not appear to have fallen in readily with the dissipations in which these young gentlemen engaged. His active mind was already probably too much occupied with serious subjects to leave him either the time or the inclination for senseless frolics of the kind perpetrated by his fellow students. He had, moreover, been brought up with a wholesome disgust for drunkenness, a vice only too common in the early days of the century, and one of his first experiences after landing in the country did not tend to lessen his repugnance to it. He was invited by one of his fellow passengers on the voyage out, the Colonel of a crack regiment, to dine at mess, and as soon as the cloth was removed, several large cases of wine, which his host had brought out with him, were brought into the room. The door was then locked, and the Colonel, turning to his guests and pointing to the wine, said, "Gentleman, there is your night's work," a work which they did so effectually that by the end of the evening almost all the entertainers and the entertained were under the table. It is, however, recorded in the Colonel's favour, that he allowed Hodgson to pass the bottle on the score of his youth, and that he did not insist on his sitting out the revel.

His handsome face, his charming manners and his amiable disposition soon gained for him a position in the best Calcutta society, and he was introduced into the inner circle of Government House by Lady D'Oyly, the wife of Sir Charles D'Oyly, then Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Marquess of Hastings. Lady D'Oyly was a noble-minded and beautiful woman of twenty-nine, and the two struck up a friendship which lasted till her death in 1875, and which exercised a most beneficial influence on Hodgson's life. He had not, however, completed his first year in India before it became painfully apparent that the climate of Calcutta was not suited to his constitution, and as he was not disposed to spare himself either in the matter

of study or in that of social amenities, his health began to break down. He had a severe attack of fever which, in spite of the most careful nursing, he could not throw off; and finally his medical adviser offered him the choice of three alternatives—"six feet underground—resign the service, or get a hill appointment." The second of these alternatives was rejected as being worse than death, as he was unable to brook the idea of returning an invalid and a burden on his father's hands; hill stations were not, in those days, to be had for the asking—indeed a hill appointment was "almost an impossibility for a young civilian, and it seemed for the moment that death would end his Indian career, when he suddenly found himself, to his surprise, appointed, through the influence of Lady D'Oyly, to the Assistant Commissionership of Kumaon, to which place he proceeded without delay.

Here he learned his first lessons in frontier administration, and he could hardly have had a better opportunity for the purpose, or a more interesting task than he found cut out for him there. India, in her outlying Provinces, was, in those days, an excellent school for a man of character—one in which he learnt self-reliance and self-control, and acquired that intimate knowledge of the country which can be gained only by daily intercourse with the people, and to the lack of which are probably due so many of our administrative blunders in recent years. Kumaon in 1819 was, perhaps, the most favourable school for the future Resident of Nepal that could possibly have been found. During seventy years it had been suffering the miseries of invasion and conquest, first at the hands of the Rohillas and then at those of the Ghurkhas, who oppressed them with a tyranny that has passed into a proverb, and on Mr. Traill, the then Commissioner, and his new Assistant,—devolved the stupendous task of converting this "shattered principality into a British Province.

They marched, says Sir W. Hunter, from hamlet to hamlet, and, after long and apparently inconclusive talks with the elders, fixed some sort of rough assessment on each cultivated valley or hill-side. Their only roads were narrow footpaths and zigzags up the precipices, sometimes mere ledges cut out of the rock with a thousand feet of sheer descent below. Their shelter was a little hill-tent, a dismantled tower, or a draughty temple, often open on three sides to the storms. But they were both young men, indeed astonishingly young, considering the duties assigned to them. Hodgson was nineteen, Traill under thirty, and they went joyously to work "to settle" the province.

The young Assistant, while travelling through the hills, was brought necessarily into close contact with the people, and the hardships and dangers which he and his followers shared together established a bond of fellowship between them, and

afforded him unusual opportunities for studying their character, and he found in them qualities which commanded his respect and won his affection—"powers of endurance, steadiness of nerve, resource in unexpected difficulties," and a cheerfulness and sense of humour which caused them to make light of difficulties which would have appeared insuperable to people of the plains. "Of their honesty," Mr. Traill in his Report says:—

"too much praise cannot be given. Property of all kinds is left exposed in every way, without fear and without loss. In those districts whence periodical migration to the *Tarai* takes place, the villages are left with almost a single occupant during half the year, and though a great part of the property of the villagers remains in their houses, no precaution is deemed necessary, except securing the doors against the ingress of animals, which is done by a bar of wood, the use of locks being as yet confined to the higher classes. In their pecuniary transactions with each other, the agricultural classes have rarely recourse to written engagements; bargains concluded by the parties joining hands (*hath marna*) in token of assent prove equally effectual and binding as if secured by parchment and seals."*

But Brian Hodgson was not destined to remain long in Kumaon. In 1820 Mr. Stuart, the Assistant to the Resident in Nepal, died, and probably, it is thought, on the recommendation of Traill, to whom Gardner appears to have applied for advice as to a competent man to fill his place, Hodgson was appointed to the post, which he held for two years. He was fortunate in finding in his chief at Kathmandu a man who was in every way worthy of admiration and imitation. "Found at Kathmandu," he writes, "in the head of the Embassy, another man to form myself upon, a man with all the simplicity and more than the courtesy of Traill,—a man who was the perfection of good sense and good temper; who, liking the Nepalese and understanding them, was doing wonders in reconciling a Court of Chinese proclivities to the offensive novelty of responsible international dealings through a permanent diplomatic establishment in their midst—a Court whose pride and poverty made it, moreover, jealously fretful at the novel sight of the costly and pompous style then inseparable from our Indian embassies." It would be beyond the scope of a review article to give a detailed account of the history of the State of Nepal; suffice to say that when young Hodgson joined his appointment, the stirring events which had characterised the previous fifty years or so had been followed by a re-action of "sullen acquiescence" and the Nepalese, after having harassed us continually with their aggressions and insolence, had finally been obliged to submit to our arms.

* Traill's Report, p. 64. Reprint of 1851.

When Mr. Gardner assumed the Residentship he found Bhim Sen in complete control of the factions which made up the Gurkha nation. Soon after Gardner's arrival at Kathmandu, the nominal Raja died, leaving an infant two years old as his successor. Bhim Sen remained in power as Prime Minister, with the Queen-Mother as nominal Regent during the long minority. He conciliated the Gurkha chiefs by keeping up a large standing army, and by a display of almost insolent indifference to the British Resident. At the same time he avoided any cause of actual rupture with the English power. Gardner perfectly understood the position. His business was to do nothing, so he and the Prime Minister, while privately good friends, maintained in public an attitude of haughty aloofness, like two estimable augurs without a wink or a betraying smile.

Hodgson was of too active a temperament to brook the prospect of sitting still and doing nothing, and he kicked against the monotony and inactivity of a life spent in the narrow round of Residency routine, where the restrictions put upon his liberty were such that he could not go out further than a morning's ride from the Residency walls, and, seeing no prospect of the Residentship falling vacant, he managed, through the influence of friends at headquarters, to get an appointment as Deputy Secretary in the Persian Department in the Foreign Office in Calcutta. It was a much-coveted prize of the Junior Service, leading sometimes to the very highest positions and affording peculiar opportunities for personal distinction, and its attainment by so young a man was regarded as a singular piece of good fortune. But, alas for Hodgson's hope of a "career in the great arenas of Indian diplomacy and administration," he was again stricken down by his old complaint and once more he had to choose between a grave in Calcutta and life in the hills. The Assistant Residentsip at Nepal having been filled up, he had to be content with a subordinate position in Kathmandu, where he assumed charge of the Post Office. But it was only for a time. The Assistant Residentsip again falling vacant in 1825, Hodgson was re-appointed to it; and eight years afterwards, when Mr. Maddock, who had succeeded Gardner as Resident, took furlough, Lord William Bentinck appointed Hodgson to the post.

The political outlook in Nepal had not improved during the time that he had been absent from Kathmandu. The Queen Regent had died, leaving the Prime Minister, Bhim Sen, completely master of the situation; each party in the State began to intrigue one against another and for support from without, and the difficulties and anxieties that beset the path of the new Resident can be realised only by those who have themselves some personal knowledge of native courts. More than once, in reading Sir W. W. Hunter's interesting Biography, one is made to feel that it was only his exquisite tact, his courage and his thorough knowledge of the people with whom he had

to deal, that saved Hodgson and his staff from a fate similar to that which so recently overtook the Resident at Manipur and his officers. In a private letter he relates on one occasion :—

"I was called to the Darbar ostensibly for a mere formal visit. I went as usual with the gentlemen of the Residency at 7 P.M. At 10 o'clock I rose to go, but the Raja begged me to stay awhile, and so again at 11 o'clock, and again I think at midnight. Still something was always urged by the Court to keep us, and though no adequate cause was assigned, I assented in order if possible to discover the real cause of our detention. I felt there *was* some cause, and possibly a serious one, as I whispered to Dr. Campbell,* and I wanted to fathom the mystery.

"Soon after midnight, at a sign from one of the Raja's attendants, his Highness asked me to go to the Queen's apartments. I went. Her Highness received me with scant civility, and presently grew angry and offensive with reference to business. I replied at first seriously," and then passed to compliments ending in a jest. "This made her laugh, and under cover of the momentary good-humour, the Raja carried me off, apparently only too happy to have thus easily got me through an interview demanded by his virago of a wife, who was the prime-mover in all the mischief then brewing. It was daylight when I and the gentlemen left the palace, and shortly after came rumours of an uproar in the Nepal cantonments. It was reported to me that the troops at the capital were in a mutinous state, and were threatening mischief to the Residency, they having been told that the Resident had been all night insisting on a reduction of the Gurkha army by instructions from his Government.

"Ere long the report of the mutiny was confirmed by the appearance of a large body of soldiers in arms moving on the Residency. Arrived at an open space two hundred yards from the embassy-house, the troops called a halt and held a palaver. The men objected to perpetrate so cowardly an act as the destruction of the Resident, 'he being a good gentleman long known to them, and always kind and courteous to them and their families.' The palaver ended in a deputation of a select body of them to the Darbar to say that, if they were to do such a deed, they must have a *Lal-mohar* (a formal order under the royal seal) to that effect."

He managed to convey to the Raja that he had seen through the object of this strange attempt to detain him and his staff during the night, and that "measures were already taken to secure vengeance, if needful, for their deaths."

"By the beginning of 1835," says Sir W. Hunter, "seven factions had developed at the Court of Nepal, all requiring to be carefully watched by the Resident, each from time to time coquetting for his support, and from time to time making appeals to the popular warlike sentiment in Nepal against the presence of a foreign representative at their capital. Hodgson had the delicate task of maintaining an attitude of dignified non-interference towards them all, which should not improperly pledge his Government on the one hand, nor give offence on the other. The principal *dramatis personæ* in the series of tragedies that followed may be briefly enumerated.

First, the *fainéant* King ambitious of becoming actual ruler, at first with the help of Ranbir Singh, the brother and rival of the Prime

* The Residency Surgeon and Honorary Assistant Resident.

Minister, subsequently with the aid of the Pandi faction hostile to the Prime Minister's whole clan. After suffering many degradations, the poor King was finally deposed in 1847, and died a State prisoner.

Second, the King's chief wife, known as the Senior Queen, who tried to assert her authority by the help of the Pandis. After furious outbursts in which she more than once quitted the palace in a rage, she died on her way into exile, as rumoured at the time from poison, but apparently from jungle-fever caught on her flight towards the Indian plains in 1841.

Third, the King's second wife, known as the Junior Queen, who hoped to rise to power by supporting the Thappas (the clan of the Prime Minister Bhim Sen), and by opposing the Pandis. After a long struggle, she obtained her full political rights as Queen in January 1843, restored the Thappas with the gallant Matabar as Prime Minister, lost her power on his assassination in 1845, and was afterwards exiled to the Indian plains.

Fourth, the Chauntrias, or collateral branches of the royal race with hereditary claims to high office. Kept down during the long supremacy of Bhim Sen, they reasserted their rights as his power waned, and secured the Prime-Ministership for their clan more than once after his fall, but lost their leaders by exile and assassination, and finally went down in the great massacre of 1846.

Fifth, the Thappa family, headed by the Prime Minister Bhim Sen who after a six year's struggle to maintain his power since the death of the old Queen-Regent was degraded in 1837, and cut his throat in prison to avoid torture in 1839. His rival brother Ranbir became a fakir, or wandering mendicant, to save his life. His gallant nephew Matabar, after long exile, obtained the Prime-Ministership through the influence of the Junior Queen in December 1843, and was murdered in 1845.

Sixth, the rival family of the Pandis, who had been crushed for thirty years by Bhim Sen. Headed by Ranjang, the son of the Prime Minister murdered at the beginning of the century, they began to reclaim their rights in 1834. By the palace intrigues of the Senior Queen, Ranjang obtained more than once the Prime-Ministership, and after many murders perished himself in the general slaughter and exile of the Pandis in 1843. His principal kinsmen were beheaded. The aged Ranjang "was brought to the place of execution, but being in a dying state, he was merely shown to the people and then removed to his own house, where he died naturally a few hours afterwards."

Seventh, the Brahman party, in turn allied and opposed to all the foregoing factions of the military castes. Unjustly kept out of their hereditary appointments, the Brahmans emerged with Raghunath Pandit as their leader on the downfall of Bhim Sen. During the confusion which followed, the hostile factions allowed Raghunath Pandit to obtain the Prime-Ministership till each could gather its own forces. The Brahman, however, discovered the times to be too perilous for a man of peace, and finding himself unsupported even by the poor King, soon resigned the premiership. He reappeared from time to time, especially as chief of a coalition ministry in 1840; always keeping out of harm's way, and content to retire to the safe seclusion of a religious life whenever danger threatened.

"All these factions came in their turn to the front amid palace intrigues and massacres during Hodgson's Residentsip from 1833 to 1843. Each did its best to establish its power by destroying its rivals, and, with the exception of the Brahman party, each, when its time arrived, shared the common fate of slaughter and ruin. The

ablest and most confident of the rival ministers Matabar Singh, when finally established his supremacy, told the Resident that since the foundation of the Nepalese dynasty, every Prime Minister had met with a violent death, but that, for his own part, "he hoped he would escape." One dark night, less than three months later, his mangled corpse was let down by a rope into the street from a window of the palace.*

The year 1837 was one of revolution and counter-revolution in Nepal; Bhim Sen had been thrown out of the Ministry, and Ramjang Pandi appointed Prime Minister, and it was a period of excessive labour and anxiety to the Resident.

"In January 1838 three messengers, disguised as religious mendicants, brought a rumour to Nepal of a rupture between the British and the Court of Ava. Forthwith Nepal despatched an emissary to Burma, taking Sikkim and Assam by the way. As the year advanced, negotiations which the Nepalese believed to be profound secrets, but each move in which Hodgson recorded with an imperturbable face, were carried on with the great Native States of India, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Gwalior, Sindhia, Haidarabad, the Marathas and the Sikhs; while communications were opened with China, Afghanistan, and Persia. Three thousand additional rounds of powder and cannon-shot were served out from the central arsenals to the garrisons along the British frontier of Nepal.

At length Bhim Sen "privately sent secret information to the Resident that the Darbar were prepared for hostilities in October, should the accounts received from Ava, Pekin, and Lahore be favourable by that time."† As rumours thickened of our being in trouble with Burma, Afghanistan, and Persia, the Darbar became impatient, "and the Raja was formally petitioned by a body of Chiefs in Council to expel the Resident at once—a proposition to which he tacitly listened."‡ The expulsion would probably be accompanied with massacre, and fears were felt in Calcutta lest the furious Queen's favourite, now become Prime Minister, might murder Hodgson and his staff to win popularity with the army, and to commit the King irrevocably to war.

Hodgson maintained an attitude of calm which almost seemed indifference, and kept up his polite intercourse with the Court as if nothing were happening which could not be adjusted in the ordinary course of diplomacy. On his remonstrance the King issued royal mandates in September recalling several of the secret emissaries to the Native States. At the same time he still more secretly sent forth new ones. His Highness even went so far as to address a complimentary letter to Lord Auckland "professing the most amiable views towards the British Government." Amid these courtly hypocrisies the unhealthy months slipped by during which Nepal might have struck her blow; and with the commencement of the cold weather came the news that a British force was ordered to assemble on the Nepal frontier.

The Government of India at that time had its hands too full with preparations for the Afghan War to be at all prepared for hostilities in Nepal, and it was hoped that, until the storm in Afghanistan had blown over, the Resident would be able to keep things quiet there, which he did with great success for

* Oldfield's *Sketches from Nepal*, pp. 343-346, Vol. I. Ed. 1880. This was in 1845, after Hodgson left Kathmandu.

† *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident, ut supra*, p. 81.

‡ *Idem*.

four years ; although in spite of the assumed friendliness of the Durbar towards the British Government, the task was one of extreme delicacy and difficulty.

"We have narrowly escaped a war with Nepal," he wrote to his father, February 1st, 1839, "and now I see many symptoms that the escape was but temporary, and that unless our Governor-General makes up his mind to more resolute remonstrance than heretofore, Gurkha presumption and duplicity will speedily enforce our taking up arms against Nepal."

In July the aged Minister, Bhim Sen, worn out by the persecutions of his enemies, committed suicide, and the war party was left supreme, but still Lord Auckland's hands were tied, and he could only protest feebly against the Government of Nepal.

"I am directed to state," wrote his Secretary,* "that the measures of indignity, insult, and cruelty which the Government of Nepal has adopted towards the late and able Minister of that State, have been viewed by the Governor-General with feelings of extreme disgust and abhorrence. They pourtray a spirit of vindictive hatred towards the late General Bhim Sen, venting itself on its unfortunate victim by outrages so atrocious and unmanly as to lead to the belief that the moral feeling of the Court has been much vitiated since the deposition of Bhim Sen, and that, under the present system and the present Government, the manners of the people will rapidly sink into a state of barbarity from which they were being gradually weaned by a long course of pacific rule, under an able and comparatively enlightened administration."

And so things went on, Hodgson in the meantime doing his utmost by diplomacy to effect a change of ministry, and his efforts being successful saved the necessity for a war which the British Government would have found extremely inconvenient, if not actually impossible. In January 1841 our army in Afghanistan suffered one of the most appalling disasters recorded in history—4,500 men with 12,000 Camp followers were annihilated in the snows of the Afghan passes, only one solitary individual out of 16,500 souls escaping to tell the tragic tale to our garrison at Jellalabad. A month later Lord Auckland was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough probably the most incompetent, as he was the most self-sufficient, Viceroy India has yet known. One of Lord Auckland's last acts was to place on record his appreciation of Hodgson's services in a formal Despatch stating :—

"The issue of your late proceedings has been so successful as to prove that you have acted throughout these transactions with a thorough knowledge of the native character, and with a degree of skill, prudence, and forbearance that is highly creditable to you. His Lordship begs to congratulate you on the favourable issue of your last struggle."†

* Letter from T. H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to the Resident in Nepal, dated Simla, August 15th 1839.—*India Office MSS.*

† Secretary to Government of India to Resident in Nepal, February, 18th, 1842.—*Hodgson Private Papers.*

He also wrote to him from the Sandheads, a private letter in which he says—

"I write these few hasty lines to you, to take leave of you, and to wish you such good health as may enable you to complete your labours in Nepal, and afterwards to enjoy many years of comfort in England. It is most satisfactory to me on the eve of my departure from India, and when there is so much of gloom and danger in one quarter of our political horizon, that the prospects in regard to Nepal are better and more promising than they have long been. Once more I thank you for all you have done, and I wish you well.*"

Of Lord Ellenborough Sir W. W. Hunter says :—

Of the remarkable man who succeeded Lord Auckland on February 28th, 1842, it is even now difficult to speak. Endowed with his father's gifts of forensic skill and eloquence, Lord Ellenborough's oratory won for him a reputation in Parliament which was never altogether lost by his mingled vacillation and rashness in action. History writes of his brief Indian career in the language of indignation. Its verdict may in several respects require to be reconsidered and in certain details to be modified. My purview is here restricted to his connection with Nepal. There as everywhere he determined from the outset to make his personality felt. In order, however, to understand his action in Nepal, it is necessary to have some idea of the general tenour of his administration and of the character of the man. For the present I prefer to quote the summing up of the most smooth-voiced of Indian historians rather than to myself pronounce on the idiosyncrasies which led to Lord Ellenborough's recall at the end of two years.

"He went to India the avowed champion of peace, and he was incessantly engaged in war. For the Afghan war he was not, indeed, accountable—he found it on his hands : and in the mode in which he proposed to conclude it, and in which he would have concluded it but for the remonstrances of his military advisers, he certainly displayed no departure from the ultra-pacific policy which he had professed in England. The triumphs with which the perseverance of the generals commanding in Afghanistan graced his administration seem completely to have altered his views ; and the desire of military glory thenceforward supplanted every other feeling in his breast. He would have shunned war in Afghanistan by a course which the majority of his countrymen would pronounce dishonourable. He might without dishonour have avoided war in Sind, and possibly have averted hostilities at Gwalior ; but he did not. For the internal improvement of India he did nothing. He had, indeed, little time to do anything.

"War and preparation for war, absorbed most of his hours, and in a theatrical display of childish pomp many more were consumed. With an extravagant confidence in his own judgment, even on points which he had never studied, he united no portion of steadiness or constancy. His purposes were formed and abandoned with a levity which accorded little with the offensive tone which he manifested in their defence, so long as they were entertained. His administration was not an illustration of any marked and consistent course of policy ; it was an aggregation of isolated facts. It resembled an ill constructed drama, in which no one incident is the result of that by which it was proceeded, nor a just and natural preparation for that which is to

* Letter marked "private" from Lord Auckland to B. H. Hodgson, dated March 7th, 1842, from the Sandheads.—Hodgson Private Papers.

follow. Everything in it stands alone and unconnected. His influence shot across the Asiatic world like a meteor, and, but for the indelible brand of shame indented in Sind, like a meteor, its memory would pass from the mind with its disappearance."*

The events which led up to the great crisis in Hodgson's political career were as follows :—

Two months after the news of the annihilation of our Kabul force, the war excitement in Nepal exploded in an outrage on the Residency. The Raja, finding himself powerless to control his son, announced his intention of abdicating in the prince's favour. The peace Ministry of the royal collaterals found themselves equally powerless to control the war party, and could only give a trembling support to the Resident by secret warnings. A lawsuit with a British-Indian subject trading with Nepal was made the pretext for an outbreak. This man, Kasinath by name, the representative of a mercantile house at Benares, had during two years† been living within the Residency bounds under medical treatment for a painful disease, while prosecuting his claims and defending counter-claims in the dilatory courts of Kathmandu.‡ Suddenly on the morning of April 23rd, 1842, writes Hodgson in one of his private notes, "my people hurried into my room with the intelligence that the Raja attended by a large train was approaching the Embassy, and that in rear of him but in sight was a regiment of soldiers with loaded arms.

"The news came from the friendly Ministers, who, taken by surprise, could only send me a word of caution and hurry after the Raja to the Residency. Accompanied by Dr. Christie, who happened to be with me at the moment, I hastened to the entrance gate, at the same time sending word to the commanding officer of my escort to bring his men quickly for the ostensible purpose of making the usual salute to the sovereign. I thought that, in case of contemplated violence, the presence of the escort for the purpose of salute might prove a deterrent, though of course no effectual protection if the worst came to the worst. When I got to the gate the Raja had already arrived with his son and a huge posse of retainers and chiefs, among the latter the friendly Ministers.

"With little preface the Raja said to me he had come to demand and to insist on the surrender of the merchant. I explained that he could not be given up, because the case was not one of disputed jurisdiction, but of strong-handed interference with all legal proceedings." § "Kasinath then, at Mr. Hodgson's request," says the official narrative, || "made his obeisance to the Raja and declared he had no

* *The History of the British Empire in India*, by Edward Thornton, Vol. VI., pp. 548, 549. Ed. 1841-45.

† Statement by Lieutenant F. Smith, in command of the Resident's Escort (Appendix VII., Secret Consultations of the Government of India, August 3rd, 1842, No. 66).—*India Office MSS.*

‡ The case is stated at great length in the Petition of Kasinath Mull of Benares to the Resident at Kathmandu, dated February 27th, 1842.—Secret Consultations of August 3rd, 1842, No. 51.

§ Hodgson's habitual moderation when speaking of an opponent appears here. The scene is described by the Escort Officer in his official narrative as follows: "I found the Raja in a great passion and insisting that Kasinath should be given up to him. The Resident remonstrated, saying he was a British subject and could not. The Raja then became very violent."—Lieutenant F. Smith's Statement, *ut supra* (*India Office MSS.*).

|| Lieutenant F. Smith's Statement, *ut supra*.

wish or intention of opposing him, and that all he wanted was justice. The Raja then ordered him to be seized."

"Notwithstanding the Raja's vehemence of demand," to resume from Hodgson's own note, "I steadfastly but courteously continued to refuse compliance. His Highness at length rushed at the poor merchant and attempted to bear him off. I threw my arm round the merchant and said sternly to the Raja, 'You take both of us or neither.' This was more than the Raja could screw up his resolution to do, although his hot-headed son urged him to do it with abuse and even blows. Seizing the moment, I made an appeal to the Raja's better feeling (I had known him from his boyhood), and thus at length I cast the balance against the mischief-makers. But it was not until a full hour of imminent risk had elapsed, during which the friendly chiefs, as they passed and repassed me in the surging crowd, dropped in my ear the words: 'Be patient and firm; all depends on you. We cannot act now, but we can and will exact an apology when the Raja's fit of violence has abated, and we have got him away.'"

Later in the day, the Raja and his heir-apparent made a second attempt in person to seize the man—an attempt again frustrated by Hodgson's calm determination that they must take himself as prisoner as well as the merchant or neither. Eventually they calmed down, and sent the friendly Ministers to negotiate with the Resident. Hodgson declared "that he could only be guided by the rules of his office; but if they would prepare a statement of the case and their decision, he would submit it to the Governor-General in Council for his orders."* In the end the merchant of his own accord went with the friendly Ministers and made his obeisance to the Raja, the Prime Minister and chief spiritual head of the State, "being security for his safety and return to the Residency."

Hodgson reported the occurrence to his Government, and received in answer a letter, dated May 8th, 1842, which disclosed the change of attitude towards him that had accompanied the change of Governor-Generals. Lord Ellenborough "had been led to indulge the hope that the communications between the two States would henceforth have been of the most amicable and courteous character."† It is scarcely needful to repeat that neither his predecessor, Lord Auckland, nor his Council in Calcutta from whom the new Governor-General was then separated by six hundred miles, nor Hodgson himself, had ever indulged in any such hope of permanent cordiality.

Lord Ellenborough, therefore, heard of the recent affair "with much disappointment and regret." He was good enough, however, to say that "his Lordship cannot believe that you would act in a manner so entirely contrary to the known views and wishes of your Government as to attempt to extend the privileges of British subjects or your own authority beyond the just limits which the laws of nations and a solemn Treaty assign to them; still less that you would evince a want of personal consideration for a friendly and independent sovereign. Nor could his Lordship believe, on the other hand, that that sovereign could so far forget his personal dignity and the obligations of the public law and Treaty as to offer an intentional insult to the Representative at his Court of a sincerely friendly Power and to place under prosecution a British subject."

* Lieutenant F. Smith's "Statement of what occurred on Saturday, April 23rd, 1842"—*India Office MSS.*

† Secret Consultations of the Government of India of August 3rd, 1842, No. 67, Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General to the Resident in Nepal, dated Allahabad, May 8th, 1842, para. 3.—*India Office MSS.*

"Meanwhile his Lordship thinks that the State presents on their way from Nepal, in honour of his accession to the Governor-Generalship, "at a moment when the cloud of misunderstanding has passed over the sun of friendship," "should await the period when that sun shall burst forth in all its former effulgence to give light and splendour and prosperity to two great and friendly States."

Hodgson did not know exactly what to make of this letter in Lord Ellenborough's finest vein. He felt that somehow he was placed on his defence by a Governor-General absolutely ignorant of the situation. The letter was to be communicated to the Raja—a letter not only full of pompous inanities, but one which would, in Hodgson's judgment, undo the good results of Lord Auckland's policy in Nepal and endanger the lives of the friendly Ministers. He therefore determined to take upon himself the responsibility of not delivering it. He communicated, however, a modification of its views to the Raja in less injudicious terms, reported his action to the Governor-General, and hoped for his Lordship's approval when the facts were fully laid before him. The Governor-General replied, after some intermediate rebuke, that "the step you have taken is not only in direct disobedience of the instructions you received, but it may tend to produce serious embarrassment to the Government, by compelling it to adopt an extreme course with respect to the Raja of Nepal at a time when it is certainly not desirable to create a division of the British forces and to impose new burdens on the finances." His Lordship directed, therefore, that "you will be relieved in your situation of Resident at the Court of Nepal at the earliest period at which the season and the exigencies of the public service may permit such relief to take place."*

Regarding the propriety of Hodgson's action in this matter there will, doubtless, always be some conflict of opinion; but there can hardly be any as to the high-handed and impetuous conduct of Lord Ellenborough at the time, and the obstinacy and disingenuousness of his subsequent behaviour. Brian Hodgson was placed in a peculiarly difficult position—suddenly called upon by a man new to the country and totally unacquainted with the people with whom he had to deal, to do what to his experienced mind appeared to be fraught with the gravest peril to British interests. He had to use his own judgment, and there can be no doubt that in doing what he did on his own responsibility, until he should have had time to explain matters to the Viceroy, he acted, if indeed, to his own undoing—for the good of his country, and saved her from embarrassments she was in no way prepared to meet. Speaking of the circumstance forty years afterwards, Hodgson himself says:—

"The new Governor-General, although away from his Council and in opposition to his Foreign Secretary, who was the only responsible officer with him, summarily condemned 'the tried and successful policy of his predecessor,' and ordered a dangerous communication to be made to the Raja of Nepal. 'It seemed to me impossible to follow such a course, and, as his Lordship declared that his object was

* Letter from the Secretary with Governor-General to the Resident of Nepal, dated Allahabad, June 21st, 1842.—Hodgson Papers.

peace, I ventured to disobey orders which I thought would certainly imperil it."*

Public sympathy was entirely on Hodgson's side in the matter, and great indignation was felt and expressed at the spectacle of a valued and experienced Representative at a Native Court being summarily dismissed by an inexperienced but self-opinionated Governor-General who had been at his post only a few months, and who acted entirely on his own responsibility ; and although Hodgson resigned the service on being offered the insultingly petty post of Assistant Commissioner at Simla, he was received with acclamation by the Court of Directors in England, and found himself the hero of the hour.

One of the first problems that had presented themselves to Hodgson when Assistant Resident at Kathmandu was that of finding some safe outlet for the activities of the military castes, and he conceived the plan of negotiating "with Nepal for the service of a portion of her organised troops as mercenaries." The Nepalese are an essentially military people, and all able-bodied men of the higher classes are enrolled into the army by rotation, thus causing, from time to time, a large overflow of fighting material, with warlike instincts, but with no opportunity for their display, and the idea occurred to Hodgson that it would be greatly to our advantage to utilise their services by enrolling them into our army. He was quick to see that these hardy mountaineers possessed qualities which gave them a great advantage over the Company's "Sepoy," and which rendered them invaluable in certain kinds of warfare, and that from many other points of view they would form a most important addition to our forces in this country.

"These Highland Soldiers," he says, "who despatch their meal in half an hour, and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and face and taking off their turbans before cooking, laugh at the pharisaical rigour of our sepoys who must bathe from head to foot and make Puja ere they begin to dress their dinner, must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and cannot be in marching trim again in less than three hours—the best part of the day. In war the former [*i.e.*, the Gurkhas] carry several days' provisions on their backs ; the latter [the Company's old sepoys] would deem such an act intolerably degrading. The former see in foreign service nothing but the prospect of gain and glory ; the latter can discover in it nothing but pollution and peril from unclean men, and terrible wizards and goblins and evil spirits."

This scheme was not carried into effect for some time, although Lord Dalhousie was quite alive to its merits and reorganised the local Gurkha battalions into regiments in 1850. When the Mutiny broke out in 1867, however, "the authorities,"

* Autobiographical Memoranda written by Mr. Hodgson in 1881.—Hodgson MSS.

says Sir W. Hunter, "fell back when too late on Hodgson's scheme which would, humanly speaking, have rendered such a catastrophe impossible." That it would have done much to crush out the rebellion and to prevent its reaching the terrible dimensions it assumed, is certain, but whether, as Sir W. Hunter thinks, it would have rendered the outbreak "impossible," is open to doubt. After the Mutiny, Hodgson had the satisfaction of seeing his plan successfully carried out, our Ghurkha force being reorganised on a permanent basis, and numbering at the present time fifteen regiments, nearly 14,000 strong. Another means by which he proposed to utilise the increasing pressure of the military castes in Nepal was by providing some "peaceful outlet" for her commercial capabilities by encouraging her to trade with Great Britain, and converting her into a common mart, where an interchange of the commodities of India with those of inner Asia might be effected. He drew up a very exhaustive Report on the subject, in which he entered into the minutest detail, and which forms a handbook to the articles of Himalayan trade—"qualities most profitable and the colours most in demand in the first third of the nineteenth century." So minute were his suggestions that he even went so far as to lay down rules for the packing of Merchandise from Calcutta.

"The Merchants," he says "wares should be made up at Calcutta into secure packages, adapted for carriage on a man's back, of the full weight of two Calcutta bazar maunds each.* Because, if the wares be so made up, a single mountaineer will carry that surprising weight over the huge mountains of Nepal; whereas two men, not being able to unite their strength with effect in the conveyance of goods, packages heavier than two maunds are of necessity taken to pieces on the road at great hazard and inconvenience. . . . 'Let every merchant, therefore,' he quaintly concludes his dissertation on packing, 'make up his goods into parcels of two full bazar maunds each, and let him have with him apparatus for fixing two of such parcels across a bullock's saddle.'"

His energy in this direction met, happily, with immediate reward. The Government of India approved his scheme, and he had the gratification, while Resident at Nepal, of seeing an immense development of our trade with that country, and in 1891 the Nepalese exports and imports had grown from Rs. 3,000,000 in 1831 to a trade with British India alone of over Rs. 33,000,000. It was some years later, when he had returned to the Himalayas in a private capacity, as a scholar, that, in his pleasant retreat at Darjiling, he conceived the idea of a European colonisation of the Himalayan borders. He urged the rearing of the more costly of the sub-tropical plants under European

* About 160 pounds avoirdupois.

supervision, and singled out tea-planting as the most suitable of these ; and although the enterprise was very tardily taken up, it is to his valuable suggestions, backed up by practical experiments on his own account, that we owe the fact that in the year 1896, four hundred tea plantations were in existence in the Darjiling district with five millions sterling invested in them. His plans for agricultural settlements in the hills by Europeans, by means of which he foretold that India would defy the world, have, however, owing doubtless to the cheapness of native labour, which renders it impossible for Europeans to compete with it, not yet been realised. But it is not beyond the bounds of probability that in some not very distant future there will be found, in some such scheme, the partial solution of the great Eurasian question which is such a perplexing one at the present day.

But it is as the champion of Vernacular education that Brian Hodgson was most conspicuous to the Indian world during the first twenty years of his service, when a fierce controversy raged on the subject, those in favour of English being headed by Lord Macaulay and Sir Charles Trevelyan, and the other side by John Russell Colvin, Henry Thoby Prinsep and Horace Hayman Wilson. Into this controversy Hodgson threw himself heart and soul on the side of the orientalist, and declared that if "the education of the Indian peoples were to become a reality, it must be conducted neither in English nor in the classical languages of India, but in the living vernaculars of each province."

Macaulay's famous minute for a time decided the question, although Hodgson, nothing daunted, replied to it in two letters to the *Friend of India*, in which he traversed the major premiss of Macaulay's argument, which assumed that, to quote his words, "we have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue," an assumption which Hodgson declared to be unfounded, and he reiterated his conviction that, "if any scheme of public instruction were really to reach the Indian peoples, it must take as its basis their mother tongues." The controversy ended, in Sir W. W. Hunter's opinion, in a complete triumph for the orientalist.

"Of the four million pupils," he says, "in Indian schools and colleges recognised by the State in the last year of Hodgson's life, three and a half millions * were receiving education entirely in the vernacular, and the remainder partly in the vernacular and partly in the English language. This was the result for which Hodgson began to labour as a young man of thirty-five, and which he saw accomplished at the age of ninety-four."

It now remains to touch briefly on the attainments of this remarkable man as a scholar. As a student of Buddhism his

* Parliamentary Statistical Abstract relating to British India, for 1893-4.

researches were more exhaustive than those of, perhaps, any other labourer in the same field, and won for him from Mr. Austine Waddell, the title of "the father of modern critical study of Buddhist doctrine," while his great but generous rival, Csoma de Körös wrote of him: "Mr. Hodgson's illustrations of the literature and origin of the Buddhists form a wonderful combination of knowledge on a new subject with the deepest philosophical speculations, and will astonish the people of Europe."

He was the largest and most munificent collector of manuscripts, ancient texts, and vernacular tracts that ever went to India.* He was also an erudite student of the new materials which he thus collected, nor did the originality of his conclusions less impress his contemporaries than the stores of buried learning which he brought to light. Having gathered together his data and used them so far as his hard-earned leisure allowed, he handed them over to the learned Societies of India and Europe in trust for scholars who could bring to their investigation the final processes of modern research. His magnificent liberality enriched not only the British Museum, the India Office Library, and the Asiatic Societies in Great Britain and in India, but also the Institute of France and the Society Asiatique de Paris with treasures which have not even yet been completely explored.

As a naturalist his contributions to the Asiatic Society were both numerous and valuable, and in his special line, ornithology, he attained to the highest rank. How much more he might have done for science and philosophy had he remained to carry on his researches in India, can only be guessed by those who are capable of appreciating the energy of the man; but unfortunately his wife's health proved unequal to the Indian climate, and he left this country in 1858 and returned to England for good. —There he entirely regained his health, and for thirty-six years enjoyed, with one sad break, the pleasures afforded by home ties and congenial society, for which, as is shown in some of his letters, he had so often yearned in the days of his solitude in Nepal; and it was not until he had attained the great age of ninety-four that death terminated his interesting and useful career. The perseverance and industry with which during his whole life he pursued the most recondite studies; the varied nature of his attainments; the thoroughness he imported into everything to which he put his hand; the integrity and amiability of his character, all tend to make him, whether regarded as diplomatist, administrator, scholar, or simply as a man, one of the most striking and beautiful figures in Anglo-Indian History.

* *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge* (Ed. 1883), Preface, p. vii, by Mr. Cecil Bendal, M.A., whom I have to thank for much kind aid.

ART. X.—SERPENT WORSHIP IN INDIA.

RELICS of ancient serpent-worship are to be found throughout peninsular India; but this peculiar cult is essentially aboriginal, and is foreign alike to the Aryans and the Dravidians. There is no evidence to show that the early Dravidians ever were serpent-worshippers. While the Dravidians were occupying the countries between the sea coast and the Vindhya mountains, the Northern parts of India were still inhabited by certain aboriginal tribes, among whom the prevailing form of worship was that of the *Nagas*. It was at this time that the first immigration of the Aryans into India took place. The solar race of the Aryans, mentioned in the Ramayana, entered India by the upper valley of the Indus. They were a pure and unmixed race, and it was repugnant to their feelings to mingle with the serpent worshipping aborigines, whom they looked down upon as *Dasyas*, and with whom they refused to have anything to do. Hence neither the Vedas nor any of the earlier Sanskrit writings contain any information about serpents or serpent-worship. Even in the Ramayana, where some slight references to the Nagas occur, they are given no prominence whatever. Subsequently, however, we find another migration of the Aryans into India, that of the heroes of the Mahabharata, otherwise known as the lunar race. They were a much less pure race than the solar, and they did not scruple so much to mix with the serpent-worshippers.

In the Mahabharata, we find the following highly interesting account of the Nagas. The *Rishi Kasyapa*, much pleased at the disinterested devotion of his two wives, *Kadru* and *Vinatha*, asked them to demand of him any gift they would most like to have. Thereupon *Kadru* expressed a strange desire to become the mother of a thousand Nagas, while *Vinatha* desired to be blessed with only two children equalling the thousand children of *Kadru* in name and fame. The longings of the fair ones being granted, *Kasyapa* went his way to the mountains to do penance. In due course, the two wives became pregnant, and, to the surprise of all, brought forth as many eggs respectively as they were promised children. These eggs were carefully preserved by the mothers. After the lapse of a long period, *Kadru's* eggs gave birth to a thousand serpents, which afterwards attained a singular distinction in Hindu tradition. But the two eggs belonging to *Vinatha* still remained as they were without showing any signs of breaking. She had already waited for five hundred years. It was a period long enough to exasperate anyone. She, therefore, seized one of

the eggs, and gently broke it open, when out flew, in all his glory, the great bird *Aruna*. He seemed annoyed beyond measure at being brought to the light of the world before his appointed time. Knowing that his own mother was the cause of this misfortune, he pronounced upon her a bitter curse that she should be enslaved by *Kadru*. But when he saw how miserably she would, in consequence thereof, have to rue her fate, he consoled her with the hope that, if she abstained from repeating the same experiment on the other egg also, she would be freed from the bondage by his brother who was yet to be born. Thereupon he flew up to heaven, where he afterwards distinguished himself as the charioteer of *Surya*, the sun. Some years later, a dispute arose between *Kadru* and *Vinatha* as to the colour of Indra's horse, *Uchaisrava*. The former maintained that it had a spot on the tail; but the latter denied the statement and they agreed that the vanquished party should become the other's slave. It then transpired that *Vinatha* was in the right. Knowing this, *Kadru* was seized with despair, and requested her children that some one of them should go and form into a black spot on the tail of *Uchaisrava*. The Nagas at first declined to do so dishonest a deed, whereupon *Kadru*, becoming enraged, pronounced a curse upon her children that they would be consumed by fire. At the critical juncture *Karkotaka*, observing the great mental pain of his mother, readily came to her rescue, and, doing her will, not only saved her from calumny, but also made poor *Vinatha* her slave.

In the meantime *Vinatha's* egg broke open, giving birth to the great king of birds, *Garuda*. As he grew up, he came to know of the deceit practised on his mother by *Kadru* and her son; and that moment the hatred for the serpents which has subsequently rendered itself so proverbial became implanted in his heart. In every possible way he tried to induce the serpents to free his mother from bondage, but in vain. At length he plainly asked them what he could do in order to please them. And, being told to get them the elixir of immortality from the *devas*, he went up to heaven, and, after a hard and severe fight with the latter, succeeded at last in securing the elixir. Coming back to the earth and placing it before the serpents, he obtained the freedom of his mother. The serpents, who had gone for their bath before partaking of the *amrita*, were however deprived of it by Vishnu, who quietly went away with it before they returned. What happened after this bitter disappointment to the snakes, is a long story. We are told that the Nagas all migrate into the nether regions, or *pathalam*, to a separate world known as the *Nagalocam-Sesha*, or *Sri Ananta*. There the most pious and famous among them

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is chosen to be the bed on which Vishnu reposes. He is represented with a thousand heads with which he is said to form a canopy over Vishnu's head. It is interesting that, while one of the most renowned of the serpent race serves for Vishnu's bed, the king of birds, whose hatred for serpents is proverbial, is employed by the great god to ride upon.

Later on in the Mahabharata we find the *Pandavas*, and especially *Arjoona*, continually coming in contact with the *Nagas*. The first of these occasions seems to be the burning of *Kandhava*, in which the serpent *Thakshaka* plays an important part. During the banishment of the *Pandavas*, *Arjoona* marries the daughters of two *Naga* chieftains. And the whole narrative of the *Nagas* is continued with great interest till *Janamejaya*, in order to avenge the foul murder of his father by *Thakshaka*, undertook the great sacrifice for the extirpation of the serpents. The work of destruction went on unchecked, but was at length stopped through the intervention of *Astika*, a nephew of *Vasuki*. After this event it is not until 691 B.C., that we hear of a *Naga* Dynasty on the throne of Magadha. Under the reign of the sixth of the race, Buddha was born, and in connection with Buddhism some further light is thrown upon serpent-worship.

The Buddhists may be said to be essentially a serpent-worshipping race. With regard to this point, Mr. Fergusson says: "No race ever permanently adopted Buddhism who had not previously been serpent-worshippers." Although this statement is not to be taken without qualification, yet it is true to a very great extent. When the Buddhists were hard pressed in argument by a certain ruler of the Punjab, *Nagaraja* hastened to the rescue, proclaiming to the world that the words uttered by *Sakyamuni* were heard and noted down carefully by the *Nagas*, from whom he said he had again received them. After the decline of Buddhism rose those two great classes into which the whole Hindu race, broadly speaking, may now be divided. These are the *Saivites* and the *Vaishnavites*. The *Vaishnava* faith descended from a group of faiths in which the serpent always played an important part. The eldest branch of the family was the *Naga* worship pure and simple. *Vishnu*, as we have already noticed, reposes on *Sesha*. And, again, according to the *Bhagavatam*, it was with the assistance of the serpent *Vasuki* that the ocean was churned and *Amrita* obtained. There does not seem to be any trace of serpent worship mixed up with the first form of faith above mentioned, namely *Saivism*. True, *Siva* is represented as holding a cobra, and the serpent is often twisted round his neck and with his hair. But there it is an implement of terror, not an object of worship. As the destroyer, *Siva* is represented with every-

thing that can add to the terrible. In his hands the serpent is only a sword, or the trident, and the chaplet of skulls contributes only to overawe and impress the beholder. It is only the common earthly serpent, taught to do the will of its master. Occasionally, however, the serpent does appear in a more religious aspect in connection with this form of faith. For instance, in many a *Saiva* temple the hood of the serpent is represented as forming a canopy over the *lingam*. But in such cases the *Naga* always appears in a markedly subordinate character, so that we are quite justified in believing that the object of the *Saivites* was to represent the Nagas as doing homage to *Siva*.

At the present day serpent worship exists more conspicuously in Southern India than anywhere else. In Ceylon, perhaps, there is a great admixture of this form of worship. The three or seven-headed *Naga* is there found adorning almost every sacred spot. Snake stones found in Southern India are generally in sets of three. The first of these is a male, the second a female, and the third consists of two intertwined, representing the children of the first two. They most abound within and around Jaina temples. In Mysore amongst the Jaina remains is the figure of a naked woman with a serpent twining round her right thigh. South Canara contains one of the most noteworthy serpent temples. The temple itself is without any architectural pretensions, being built entirely of laterite. The image is shapeless; the locality extremely wild and feverish. But in spite of this, during the December festival, a great many persons resort thither. In the Madura temple, between the images of *Hanuman* and *Garuda*, stands one of the seven-headed *Nagas* richly jewelled and under a splendid canopy. The two gold statues of the seven-headed *Naga* at Srirangam are even larger than those at Madura. In the Southern district of Travancore is a finely sculptured serpent temple, and in the bed of a river opposite there rises a tall rock known as *pämpu-pära*, with a shining band suggestive of a serpent's body. We understand that snakes are kept in Guzerat, both as objects of worship and to destroy rats. No Hindu ever kills a serpent willingly. Should one be killed in his vicinity by a Mahomedan, or any other alien religionist, they remove its body, put a piece of copper money in its mouth, and with deep veneration burn it in order to avert the apprehended evil.

A snake festival has none of the elements of Brahmanism in it. No Brahman acts as priest in any serpent temple. The worshippers bathe, mark their forehead with red colour, and go to the place where cobras are known to live. The sacred stones there are anointed, and offerings also are made to them. Small new earthen saucers, filled with milk, are left by the

stones, or near snake holes, if any, and if the snakes appear and drink, it is esteemed a most fortunate circumstance. The worshippers also take a little earth from near the snake holes. It is supposed to act as a marvellous remedy for such diseases as leprosy, &c., and to remove the barrenness of woman. Persons who have made vows sometimes perform the ceremony known as *Angapradikshanam*, or rolling round the temple. It is performed with great rapidity, fury and vociferation. In Madura there is a certain sect of people who undertake to perform as proxies on payment of a certain fixed sum.

Naga stones, properly erected, ought to be built on a stone platform facing the rising sun. They are placed under the shade of two *pepul* trees, *arayäl*, wedded together by a ceremony as in the case of human beings. A *neem* and a wood-apple form living witnesses of the wedding. The expenses required for this ceremony are too great for men of ordinary wealth, so that very often the ceremony is dispensed with and only one *pepul* tree is used. No Hindu points to a serpent stone, lest the finger so pointed should wither from off the hand.

P. SHANKUNNY, B.A.

ART. XI.—HOOGHLY PAST AND PRESENT.

(Continued from the *Calcutta Review* for January 1894).

THE HOOGHLY MUNICIPALITY.

HOOGHLY, as we have seen, was almost in a state of nature before it was settled by the Portuguese, the site of the town that afterwards arose, being for the most part covered with jungles and marshes. It was by reclaiming the jungles and filling up the marshes, that these foreigners laid the foundations of their settlement. The merchants who first came to the place to dispose of their cargoes, built mere sheds of bamboos for their temporary residence. With the increase of their trade, the bamboo sheds were replaced by brick-built houses. Of these buildings, the greater part were used for the storage of merchandise, and a few only for purposes of habitation. Sâtgaon was then the main centre of trade, but it was rapidly declining. The Saraswati having begun to be silted up, communications by large boats and larger vessels were becoming increasingly difficult, owing to which the once-flourishing trade* of the place was considerably affected. The Portuguese, taking advantage of this state of things, tried to divert the trade to their own settlement, and in this they were eminently successful. This diversion of trade from the imperial port was one of the grounds afterwards urged by the Moghul Viceroy of Bengal for attacking Hooghly and turning the Portuguese out of the Province.

Hooghly continued to prosper under the parental care of the new settlers, and its fame soon spread far and wide. The settlement, as we have already shown,† was made somewhere in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the first and foremost of the four "Great Moghuls," Akbar, was on the throne. The necessary permission having been given by the provincial Chief, the Portuguese lost no time in availing themselves of it by creating a permanent settlement. The town which they built probably extended from the northern limit of the present circuit-house‡ to the southern border of the present Joraghat (double ghat). It is certain that they had no land higher up the river, and it is almost equally certain that they had none lower down, except, perhaps, the quarter known as Hâldártuli. As this part of Bengal

* See Kabikankan's *Chandi*.

† *Vide* Chapter I.

‡ This building stands on the boundary-line which separates Bandel from Keota.

was then anything but safe, the Portuguese thought it prudent to take steps for the protection of their settlement, and, accordingly, with the permission of the Moghul Viceroy, they built a fort and dug a moat round three sides of the town, the fourth being protected by the river, so that, when the moat was filled, as it was daily by the tidal waters, the settlement assumed the aspect of a small island. The fort had been built previous to 1585, the year in which the place was visited by the English traveller, Ralph Fitch.

As the fame of Hooghly began to eclipse that of Sâtgáon, the Moghul Governor who had his headquarters at the latter place, built a castle in the new town and garrisoned it with Moghul soldiers. In 1603, it would seem, this castle was captured by the Portuguese and its garrison killed to a man. It is probable that the Moghul soldiers, or the Governor of Sâtgáon, were much to blame, otherwise the Great Moghul, Akbar, whose reign was one continued series of successes, would not have allowed the Portuguese to go unpunished. As a matter of fact, they were not disturbed either in the reign of that Emperor or in that of his son, Jehangir. Hooghly rose to be the principal seat of commerce in this part of Bengal, and attracted people from all quarters. The Portuguese came in large numbers, some from Goa and some from the mother-country. Thus, in course of time, the number of Europeans alone came greatly to exceed ten thousand. Though the trade was principally carried on by water, still the town possessed almost all the advantages of lands within municipal bounds. There were good roads for the convenience of passengers and equally good drains for the discharge of surplus water. Indeed, sanitation appears to have made a fair progress, and the general health of the towns-people was far from bad. As a matter of fact, we hear of no epidemic having broken out during the whole period the Portuguese held it. And not only sanitation, but what is called supreme law,* to wit, the safety of the inhabitants, was duly provided for. There were night-guards who were not allowed to sleep over their duty as some of them now do. Though the surrounding villages now and then suffered from the ravages of robbers, Hooghly itself was seldom the scene of such disturbances. The only oppression which the natives suffered was from the Portuguese themselves, and this was sometimes very unjust and arbitrary. Even the serious matter of religion was interfered with, and not unfrequently people were forcibly converted to Christianity, against the spirit of its teachings.

The Portuguese at Hooghly reached the acme of their power and affluence in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

* *Salus populi suprema lex.*

But their fall was as sudden in its occurrence as it was terrible in its consequences. This event took place, as we have already stated,* in 1632. The town was destroyed and with it the Portuguese trade in Bengal became a memory of the past. The offices were removed from Sâtgaon to Hooghly which became the chief port, if not the only port, of the western arm of the Ganges. Thus, as a matter of fact, the prosperity of the town was not much affected by its change of masters. A Fouzdar was appointed to keep the country under check and control, and he fixed his head-quarters at Hooghly. This officer was liberally paid, and possessed considerable powers. In fact, he was only second to the Chief Governor of Sircar Sâtgaon. The Portuguese fort having been demolished, another fort was built by the Moghuls for the protection of the town. Close to the fort were the private palace and gardens of the Fouzdar. These works occupied the ground extending from the deep ditch to the west of the Post-office buildings right up to the place on which the present jail stands.

Shortly after the expulsion of the Portuguese, the English came to Hooghly for purposes of trade, but they were not allowed to build a factory until the year 1644. The Dutch also arrived about the same time, but they soon removed to the neighbouring village of Chinsura† and established there their settlement, which they afterwards strongly fortified. The north gate of their fort stood somewhere on the land which adjoins the Joraghat. The Dutch drove as brisk a trade at Chinsura as the English did at Hooghly, and as both these nations were remarkable for commercial enterprise‡ they received great encouragement at the hands of the Mogul Governors. But though the town did not suffer in point of trade by the expulsion of Portuguese, there was some falling off in a sanitary point of view. The roads were no longer kept as neat and clean as they had been during the time of the Portuguese, nor were the drains properly looked after. Nevertheless, it would seem that sanitation was not altogether neglected, and this is best proved by the fact that during the Mogul sway, the townsfolk did not suffer from epidemics, nor was there much sickness in the land. True to their instinct, the Mogul officers never attempted European cleanliness in their persons, or European neatness in the places they lived in or governed. But there was one important improvement which the town owed the Moguls. This was its division into eighteen *mohul-*

* *Vide* Chapter I.

† The philosophic historian of the *European Settlements in the East and West Indies*, the Abbe Raynal, describes Chinsura as a suburb of Hooghly.

‡ Commerce raised Holland from her morasses, and Venice from her canals. Chinsura was the chief trade-mart of the Dutch in Bengal.

las,* or wards, some of which are traceable even in the present day.

With the loss of Moslem supremacy in Bengal, Hooghly was cast quite in the shade. In January 1757 it was captured and sacked by the English. This terrible mishap gave the death-blow to its pride and prosperity. Calcutta was established as the seat of Government, and all the public offices were removed there. Hooghly thus fell into sad insignificance. True, it continued to be the residence of the Fouzdar, but it lost its former importance. Even that office was at last abolished in 1793†, and in 1795 the Hooghly district was formed. With its formation into a district, Hooghly regained some of its former importance, though it was a mere trifle in comparison with what it had been before. An officer was appointed, who exercised the functions of both Judge and Magistrate, the revenue jurisdiction remaining, as before, with the Collector of Burdwan. Though the town became the head-quarters of the district, it but ill deserved that honour, to such a low state it had fallen. Indeed, it was anything but a respectable-looking town. The Judge-Magistrate described it in 1814 as "a small straggling town," and, what was more to be regretted, it was anything but secure. The authorities soon adopted suitable measures for improving this deplorable state of things. The Government passed Regulation XIII in 1813, and thus sowed the first seeds of Municipal Government in Bengal. Under its provisions the inhabitants of towns were empowered to make better provision for watch and ward, and for the protection of their property. As Hooghly needed such a law, it was introduced into it early in June the following year. Sixty Chowkidars were appointed to the two main sections, Bali and Gholeghat, into which the town was divided, and as they were only too earnest and careful in the discharge of their duties, the sleepless gentlemen of the night found their palmy days numbered. The Magistrate reported that since the establishment of the Chowkidars, there had been no robberies or even thefts.

The Regulation of 1813 was certainly a wholesome law, but the procedure prescribed in it was not equally happy. At any rate, serious defects were found in its working, and it was deemed absolutely necessary to remedy them. Accordingly, Regulation XII‡ was passed in 1816 which

* The town has now been extended to the northern limit of the village of Mir-Kala, and the number of *Mohullas* increased to thirty seven.

† Mr. Morley, however, says that the Fouzdars were abolished in 1781. *The Administration of Justice*, 1858, p 51.

‡ This Regulation was a little modified by Regulations VII of 1817 and III of 1821.

besides remedying those defects, laid down, for the first time, rules for conservancy, lighting and other municipal purposes. About this time, Mr. C. D. Smyth, whose name has justly become a household word in this part of Bengal, joined the District as its judicial and executive Head, and it is to him that Hooghly owes many of the improvements which still live to tell their own tale. But as Mr. Smyth was engaged in other matters in the first few years of his rule, none of these improvements date from a period anterior to the year 1823, in which a calamitous flood ravaged this part of the Province. In fact, it was this disastrous visitation which gave a strong impetus to his mind, and mainly led to his initiating the reforms which he had so much at heart. He looked about for funds, and finding to his satisfaction that the town duties levied under Regulation X of 1810 showed a surplus, he took some two thousand rupees out of them, and spent the amount on the improvement of the town. But he did not stop here. In fact, this was only the beginning, and, as the measure elicited praise from the higher authorities, it was followed up, until in 1829 the town assumed a very respectable appearance. In that year nearly five thousand rupees were spent, and as Mr. Smyth was also a thorough man of business, the money was laid out to the best advantage. The public road near the Collectorate was widened; the Civil Court tank, the Pipalpati tank and some other tanks were excavated, trees were planted by the sides of the roads, and some of the roads themselves were metalled with brick. The handsome masonry-ghat which bears the familiar, but not the less honoured, name of Smyth was built in the same year. The old circuit-house also dates from about the same time.

While these improvements were being made in the town, down came like a bolt from the blue the order of the Government of India discontinuing "the further appropriation of the surplus town duties to purposes of public improvement;" dissolving the local committees and placing their duties in the hands of the Magistrate. Thus the noble work which Mr. Smyth had taken in hand and in which he had made considerable progress, had suddenly to be stopped, and it is, therefore, no wonder that we hear no more of municipal matters until 1837, when a change for the better came over the aspect of affairs.

By Regulation XV of that year, the maximum Chowkidari assessment under Regulation XII of 1816 was raised to Rs. 2, and the principle of applying the surplus collections to improvements in the town was re-affirmed. Two fire engines were purchased from Calcutta in this year. The work which had to be stopped towards the close of the year 1829, was

resumed with re-doubled vigour, and the result was that Hooghly as well as Chinsura soon presented "an appearance of neatness and regularity not often observable in the towns of the Lower Provinces." But the work of improvement was not yet complete, notwithstanding the progress which had been already made. Some parts of the town were still overgrown with jungle and contained many stagnant pools which required to be filled up at once. The river, moreover, was subject to contamination from corpses and carcasses and the dirty contents of conservancy carts which used to be constantly thrown and emptied into it.

The offices of Judge and Magistrate having been separated* by this time, Mr. E. A. Samuells was placed in charge of the executive department. This officer was a worthy successor of Mr. Smyth in the Magistracy, and gave his heart and soul to the work he was entrusted with. Owing to the increase of Chowkidari tax by Regulation XV of 1837, collections could not be made with ease and punctuality. The Chowkidars grumbled for the arrears into which their pay had fallen, and the safety of the town was jeopardised. At this juncture some leading men of the place came forward and offered to take the collections into their own hands, guaranteeing the full amount of the existing assessment. The Magistrate, Mr. Samuells, approving of this system of local self-government, reported their offer to Government for sanction, and, on this being granted, called a public meeting of the inhabitants on the 5th June, 1840. The meeting was a great success, and a committee consisting of nine members was appointed to take into consideration measures for the Municipal management of the towns of Hooghly, Chinsura and Chandernagore. Baboo Roma Prosad Roy, who afterwards so highly distinguished himself in the Sadar Dewani Adalat, and Syed Karamat Ali, the recognised head of the Mahomedan community, took part in the proceedings. The Meeting, indeed, may be said to mark an epoch in the annals of the Municipal Govern-

* This was certainly a move in the right direction. Dr. Adam Smith very properly observes: "When the Judicial is united to the Executive power, it is scarcely possible that justice should not frequently be sacrificed to what is vulgarly called politics. The persons entrusted with the great interests of the State may even without any corrupt views sometimes imagine it necessary to sacrifice to those interests the rights of a private man. But upon the impartial administration of justice depends the liberty of every individual, the sense which he has of his own security. In order to make every individual feel himself perfectly secure in the possession of every right which belongs to him, it is not only necessary that the judicial should be separated from the executive power, but that it should be rendered as much as possible independent of that power." *Wealth of Nations*, Book, V, Chap. I, Part II. See also Sir Richard Garth's *A few plain Truths about India*.

ment of Hooghly. The Committee, appointed at it, elected Syed Keramat Ali as President, and Baboo Eshan Chundra Banerjee of the Education Department as Honorary Secretary. This being done, they requested the Magistrate to make over to them the full control of the conservancy, collecting and Chowkidari establishments, and to appoint a writer "to do the drudgery." But as the Magistrate was not legally competent to grant such request, the Committee was placed in an entirely false position. In the meantime, the President and the members quarrelled over the appointment of a Bukshee, and the result was that the former threw up his appointment, when Moulvie Akbar Shah, one of the members, was appointed President in his place. To add to the confusion, the people, mistaking the real object of the meeting of the 5th of June, took it to be a preliminary to fresh taxation, and threw every possible obstacle in the way of the Committee. Thus, as a matter of fact, nothing of real importance had been done, when, in September 1841, the term of one year for which the Committee had been appointed expired.

Considering the untoward circumstances with which the Committee had all along struggled, there seemed to be little probability of its being elected a second time, but, as good fortune would have it, it was re-elected in February 1842. Its first act, after its re-election, was the very proper and sensible one of asking the Magistrate to move the Government to define more clearly its duties, powers and responsibilities, and the outcome of this request was the passing of Act X of 1842,* —the first purely Municipal law in Bengal, "to make better provision for purposes connected with the public health and convenience." By this Act the inhabitants of the town into which it was introduced were empowered to appoint a Committee, and the Committee, so appointed, was empowered to impose a tax on houses not exceeding 5 per cent. on their annual value. The details of the working of the Act were provided for by rules, and the Government reserved to itself the right of dissolving the Committee at any time. Under this Act Chandernagore was added to the Municipality, which formerly included only Hooghly and Chinsura. The Committee began their work in right earnest, but an unforeseen occurrence soon presented itself which upset all their plans. In August 1844 the country was suddenly overtaken by a formidable flood, which in violence and the amount of injury done by it was second only to the memorable flood of 1823. Many breaches were made in the Damudar embankments, and the consequence was that the villages all round were inundated. The

* This Act was repealed by Act XXVI of 1850.

waters reached Chinsura and Hooghly, and filled all the ditches and drains. This flood was followed by drought, and the drought again was followed by another flood in 1845.

For some time before that year Mr. G. P. Leycester was Magistrate, but he soon left the District, making over charge to Mr. S. Wauchope. The latter, too, remained only for a short time, and we find him succeeded in the next year by Mr. A. Reid. Mr. Wauchope had already distinguished himself as an executive officer ; but much greater reputation was in store for him when, in his capacity of Dacoity Commissioner, he succeeded in putting down dacoity which had become so very dangerous to the peace of the country. The magisterial authorities being busy with more important matters, the Municipal administration of the town showed little sign of improvement. In fact, this state of things continued till 1856, when the Government passed Act XX, thereby repealing Act XII of 1816, which had all along been in operation.

By the new Act power was given to the Magistrate to determine the number of Chowkidars, with the limitation that in no case should it exceed one to every twenty-five houses. In the matter of assessment, option was given to levy the tax either according to the circumstances of the people, or according to the value of their holdings. But before the authorities had had time to put this Act into working order, the Sepoy Mutiny broke out and spread from one end of Hindustan to the other. At this time Mr. F. R. Cockerell was the Magistrate of Hooghly. Fully alive, as he was, to the danger which was hanging over the British Empire, he did not forget the ordinary duties of his office. Nay, he even found time to look after the improvement of the town. As Hooghly stood in need of a Strand Road, he made up his mind to construct one, and at once commenced work which had advanced far towards completion when the exigencies of Government service compelled Mr. Cockerell to leave the district, making over charge to Lord Ulick Browne. Only the finishing touch, as it were, had to be put to the work by the latter officer, and yet, taking the whole credit to himself, he put up a commemoration stone bearing his own name and that of the Jailor. The Strand Road is certainly a valuable acquisition to the town, for, besides affording considerable facilities for locomotion and transit, it has added much to its beauty and symmetry. But, unfortunately, since the construction of the splendid Jubilee bridge over the river at Gholaghat, it has been wearing away, and it is apprehended that, unless preventive measures are taken, it will be swept away altogether in the course of a few years. In this state of things it behoves both the Magistrate and the Municipal Chairman to make every possible effort to check the further encroachment of the river.

Hitherto, no attempt had been made to reduce municipal administration to a system. But, as years rolled on, such a system became necessary, and, accordingly, in 1864, the Bengal Council passed Act III, which was the *first* attempt in that direction. This Act was introduced in Hooghly in the following year, when luckily the Magistracy was in the hands of Mr. R. V. Cockerell, a worthy brother of Mr. F. R. Cockerell. The Cockerells have done yeoman's service to the district, and it is only just and proper that their names should be held in grateful remembrance. As under the Act the Magistrate was to be the Chairman, Mr. Cockerell formed a Council of his own, and, with the assistance of his co-adjutors, proceeded to supply the wants of the town. But nothing could be done without money. Accordingly, assessment operations were set in motion. Baboo Romesh Chundra Mookerjee, who had distinguished himself as Darogah, was the officer selected for this purpose; but unfortunately his proceedings caused great dissatisfaction. That the hardship was keenly felt is evidenced by the heavy arrears which were found to be due at the end of the year. The demand for the year was Rs. 28,000 and odd, but the amount actually realised did not come up to Rs. 22,000.

While assessment was busily going on, the Magistrate put his hand to a work of public utility. This was the making of a road from the Hooghly Railway Station to the side of the river at Bāboogunge. Some portions of the private lands which fell in the road were purchased, and some portions given free of charge by their owners. The work was commenced in 1865, but although it was continued without intermission, it was not completed before 1868. The Chairman's report of the 2nd June 1866 shows that in the year under review more than twelve thousand rupees had been spent on the road. Indeed, it cost in round numbers eighteen thousand rupees. But, heavy as the cost was, the road is certainly a very valuable acquisition to the town. Indeed, as far as road-making goes, the Cockerell brothers might well vie with Mr. D. C. Smyth who was the first to make some good roads in the station which still testify to the deep interest he took in its amelioration and advancement. Mr. R. V. Cockerell carried out some other works of civic improvement, but that for which he is best known, and which very properly bears his name, is the splendid road we have spoken of above.

Mr. Cockerell left the district for good in 1870, when Mr. F. H. Pellew took his place in the Magistracy and the Municipality. In that year was passed Act VIII, which provided for the appointment, dismissal and maintenance of village Chowkidars. This Act underwent some modifications in subsequent years,*

* By Acts I of 1871 and 1886

but the main provisions have remained unaltered up to the present time. In 1871 fever raged very violently in the district, and as subsoil, humidity and obstructed drainage were considered to be its proximate causes, the Hooghly and Burdwan Drainage Act* was passed. But, beyond passing the Act, no noteworthy attempt would seem to have been made to introduce a better system of drainage. In fact, as far as the town is concerned, its drainage is still anything but good. But it is gratifying to observe that the Municipality has at last warmed up to its duty, and has made a survey and measurement of the town in view of a better drainage scheme ; and it is needless to say, the sooner the scheme is put into operation the better.

In 1872, when Sir George Campbell was in charge of the Government of Bengal, a census was taken of the whole province, and it was found that the population of the Hooghly Municipality amounted to 67,538, showing a decrease of more than 2,500 souls from that of 1837. This fact is alone sufficient to show that the health of the town, so far from improving, had deteriorated, and this conclusion is confirmed by the successive reports of the Civil Surgeon.

Act III of 1864 had worked pretty well, but change of circumstances necessitated an alteration in some of its provisions, and accordingly, in 1876, the Bengal Council repealed it, along with its subsidiary Acts, by Act V, which was properly styled the Mofussil Municipalities Act. As a supplement to the latter Act was passed in 1878 Act VI, which provided for the construction and cleansing of latrines in first class Municipalities. These two Acts remained in force till 1884 when they were repealed by Act III, which is the governing law on the subject. This Act which came into force on the 1st August had for its object the amendment and consolidation of the law relating to Municipalities. The principle of this Act is very different from that of the English Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, for while, under the latter Act, Municipality means the whole body of the inhabitants of a borough, under the former, the body corporate is constituted by the incorporation of the Commissioners only ; but since the introduction of the elective system, the difference has to a considerable extent disappeared. Although, as a matter of fact, the Commissioners form the body corporate, two-thirds of their number being elected by the rate-payers, the inhabitants of the Municipality as a body have evidently a voice in the Council.

In order to understand the general scope of the Bengal Act, it is necessary to consider what the purposes are to which the Municipal fund may be applied, and how they have been provided for. Those purposes, as stated in section 69, are as

* Act V of 1871.

follows :—1. Construction and improvements of roads, bridges, and the like. 2. The supply of water, and the lighting and watering of roads. 3. The erection and maintenance of offices and other buildings. 4. Other works of public utility for the promotion of the health, comfort or convenience of the inhabitants. 5. The construction and repair of school-houses and the like. 6. The establishment and maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries. 7. The promotion of vaccination. 8. The maintenance of a fire-engine.

The Municipal fund is mainly derived from a house-tax* and a conservancy tax. The holdings are assessed according to their annual value, which is determined by the gross annual rent for which any holding may be reasonably expected to let.† The only exemption is in favour of holdings of which the annual value is *less than six rupees*.‡ The prevailing rate of taxation is

* The principle under which house-tax is assessed in England is thus laid down by J. S. Mill :—"When the occupier is not the owner, and does not hold on a repairing lease, the rent he pays is the measure of what the house costs him ; but when he is the owner, some other measure must be sought. A valuation should be made of the house, not at what it would sell for, but at what would be the cost of rebuilding it, and this valuation might be periodically corrected by an allowance for what it had lost in value by time, or gained by repairs and improvements." *Political Economy*, Book V, Chap. III.

† This is the right principle ; but houses not inhabited should not be taxed at all. On the subject of house-tax, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* may be advantageously consulted. In that learned work, the father of political economists observes :—"Houses not inhabited ought to pay no tax. A tax upon them would fall altogether upon the proprietor, who would thus be taxed for a subject which afforded him neither conveniency nor revenue. Houses inhabited by the proprietor ought to be rated, not according to the expense which they might have cost in building, but according to the rent which an equitable arbitration might judge them likely to bring, if let to a tenant." Book V, Chap. II, p. 355. Edinburgh, 1829. A little further on, the author says :—"Untenanted houses, though by law subject to the tax, are, in most districts, exempted from it by the favour of the assessors." This is as it should be. It is also worthy of remark that, as when a house is rebuilt, improved or enlarged, there is a new valuation for purposes of taxation, so by parity of reasoning in the event of a house having suffered much from wear and tear of time, there should be a new valuation with a view to the reduction of its tax. But unfortunately this equitable principle is seldom, if ever, acted upon in this Municipality.

‡ Mill very properly observes :—"As incomes below a certain amount ought to be exempt from income-tax, so ought houses below a certain value from house-tax, on the universal principle of sparing from all taxation the absolute necessities of healthful existence." *Political Economy*, Book V, Chap. III. Houses being *necessaries*, they should not be so heavily taxed as *luxuries*. Hence, house tax must from its very nature be moderate ; but, unfortunately, for the public, this sound principle is not always acted upon. In civilised Greece, even war-tax, which is so very necessary for the defence of the country, was very moderate. The Abbe Raynal says :—"The impost laid by Aristides on all Greece for the

not the maximum rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. allowed by the Act, but $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. only. The conservancy tax is a little more than half of the house-tax. In 1889-90 the total income was Rs 56,861, but in the next year it fell to Rs. 49,531, and in 1892-93 it was still less, being Rs. 47,438 only. Thus the average income may be stated in round numbers at Rs. 50,000 ; and the average expenditure also being about the same amount, equilibrium is nearly maintained.* This being the state of the finances of the Municipality, let us see how it has served the purposes for which it has been established and maintained.

At the outset of British rule in Bengal, the district had no road worthy of the name.† As for the roads spoken of by the great geographer, they were, as a rule, strips of land set apart at the various settlements for the purpose of public trade. Metalling and raising were quite unknown, and bridges there were only few.‡ This state of things continued till Mr. C. D. Smyth was appointed to the district.§ Now, what was true of the district in general, was not untrue of the head station. This town, too, stood in sad want of roads. But, with the advent of Mr. Smyth, this want was removed to a considerable extent. He constructed some good roads, most of which, if

support of the war against Persia was so moderate, that those who were to contribute of themselves called it *the happy fortune of Greece!* What times were these, and what a country in which taxes made the happiness of the people!" *History of Settlements in the East and West Indies*, Book XIX.

In Chapter V. of the aforesaid Book V, speaking of *local* taxes as distinguished from *general* taxes, the author says:—"It is an important principle, however, that taxes imposed by a local authority, being less amenable to publicity and discussion than the acts of the government, should always be especial—laid on for some definite service, and not exceeding the expense actually incurred in rendering the service." He then goes on to say that when, for instance, the tolls on roads or bridges have repaid with interest the whole of the expenditure, the road or bridge should be thrown open to the general public *free of toll*. In this connection we deem it proper to notice that in this Municipality *no tolls* are levied on roads or bridges.

* It is observable that while the population increased from 31,177 in 1890-91 to 33,060 in 1892-93, the number of rate-payers decreased from 8,406 in 1890-91 to 7,715 in 1892-93 ; and, accordingly, there has been some diminution in the income.

† In Rennell's Map of the Hooghly district, however, it is shown as traversed by roads in every direction, but they were rather tracks set apart as roads than roads themselves.

‡ Toybnee, p. 105.

§ Even in 1837, the Magistrate remarked that "there was not a single road in the district which a European vehicle could traverse, while the number passable for hackeries in the rains are lamentably few." In connection with road making, we deem it proper to mention the name of Baboo Chaku Ram Singh, Zemindar of Bhastara, who at his own expense constructed and also kept in repair an excellent road from Tribeni to his own village. He also gave Rs. 500 for the repairs of the Hooghly town roads.

not all, are still in existence in some form or other. The example set by Mr. Smyth was not lost upon his successors, so that Hooghly does not now stand much in need of roads. In fact, it is almost covered with a net-work of roads and lanes; and if one or two deficiencies were supplied, it would be well-provided so far as road-making goes.

Besides the Grand Trunk Road, there are the Strand road, the Pipalpati road, the Pámkhátuli road, and the Chuck Bazar road, all running southwards towards Chinsura. The Bolágore road, which after meeting the Grand Trunk Road, passes through Bali and the places to its south, supplies the wants of the people residing in the western quarter of the town. Corresponding to these roads which run north and south, there are the Jubilee road and the Cockerell road running east and west. The Jubilee road has been recently made, and, as it was constructed during the time when Mr. B. Dé was the Chairman of the Municipality, it bears his name. But, as a matter of fact, the road was not the work of the Municipality. It was constructed by the Railway Company for the easy transit of their building materials, and has since been purchased from them by the Municipality, which has metalled it. This road commences from the Imambara ferry-ghat and runs up direct towards the west, until it meets the Pámkhátuli road, whence, taking a little turn, it moves on like a huge unwieldy cobra before it crosses the Cockerell road, whence it runs direct towards Chinsura. The Cockerell road is the best in the whole station. It lies like a long wide riband, having its one end at the Báboogunge ghat and its other at the Hooghly Railway station. It is so straight that even a blind man might travel by it without the aid of a guide. At the boundary between Hooghly and Chinsura, there is a lane which runs westwards from Joraghat. If this lane were widened into a road and made to join the Chárglátá road, it would not only be a source of great convenience to people living in that quarter, but would add to the beauty and symmetry of the town. The Bolagore road extension, which passes through Bali and its neighbourhood, also needs to be widened in some places. Some of the bye-ways, it is true, are not as good as might be wished, but it is impossible to give general satisfaction in this respect. Thus, on the whole, Hooghly cannot be said to stand much in need of the means of easy and convenient locomotion and transit.

But the mere making of roads is not all that is required of a Municipality; it is equally necessary to maintain them in proper order. It is often found that to get a thing is not so difficult as to *retain* it. In the matter of roads, other people might learn from the French. Europe of all parts of the world

is famous for its roads, and France of all European countries stands conspicuous in this respect. French roads are the best in the whole world.* Their road-men pay particular attention to the roads, and are always vigilant over them. If anything goes wrong, they readily set it right, always acting upon the maxim of "a stitch in time saving nine." To construct a road is not so difficult as to keep it in order. Good roads become bad roads through neglect, while bad roads become good roads, if well cared for. French roads are well kept in both wet and dry weather. If there is mud in the roads, the road-men soon scrape it off, and if there is dust they sweep it off. This should be done in every respectable Municipality, but, as a matter of fact, it is seldom done. We hope, however, that in the matter of the maintenance of the roads, the Municipal authorities of this town will try to follow the French, and if they need ocular demonstration of the doings of that civilized nation, they might satisfy themselves by a glance at their only remaining settlement in Bengal. Bridges there are few in this town, and they are not badly kept. But some hollow places require to be spanned by culverts, for in the rainy season locomotion becomes difficult in consequence of the overflow of water in them. This want is keenly felt in certain parts of Gholeghat and Bali, and I need not say that it should be supplied without any further delay.

Nothing is more conducive to health than pure, wholesome water, and it is no exaggeration to say, with the Sanskrit poets, that it is *life* itself. That this is so, we need not go far for proof, as it is best evidenced in Calcutta which, since the introduction of water-works, has, from an unhealthy place, been turned into almost a sanitarium. But all places do not require such works, nor can all places afford to pay for them. Hooghly is too poor to bear such an additional charge, and, unfortunately for us, we have no Nabob Gunny Meah or Nabob Ahsanollah amongst us. It is true, Mahárájá Durga Charan Laha is a native of Chinsura. But, though the Mahárájá has certainly the means, I doubt very much if he has also the wish to emulate these benefactors. We are told, however, that at a meeting which was held for the purpose he offered to pay ten thousand rupees for the proposed works, on condition that water should be supplied to the inhabitants free of charge; but where is the remainder of the amount to come from? It is open to question whether such works are absolutely necessary in this part of the country. Here the water of the river is not brackish as in Calcutta, and, except in the rainy months, it

* See also Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Book V, Chap. I, pp. 305-306.

remains sufficiently pure, requiring no filtering before it can be drunk. In this opinion we do not stand unique, as we are borne out by the Administration Report of the Municipality for the year 1890-91. In that Report it is stated, evidently on the authority of the local Civil Surgeon, that the river water in this part of the country is *not unwholesome*, and that the water of the tanks resorted to by the people is also good.* This being the real state of things, and as increase of taxation will make the burden intolerable, we may well defer the introduction of water-works to some future time. For the present, as a provision against the impurity of the river water during the rains, some additional tanks should be excavated, which should be reserved for drinking purposes only. To force water-works upon the people when they do not urgently require them, would be neither just nor proper. We need not remind our Chairman, in passing, that, while there was only one meeting in favour of the scheme, there have been several to protest against it.

Russell in his *Diary in the East*, observes that wind in Cairo means dust, and dust means utter discomfort. Now, what is true of that *Grand City* is also true of many other places in the East. Hooghly is not an exception. In the hot season dust rises on the least provocation. In such a place, road-watering is absolutely necessary, and the Municipal authorities too are not remiss in this matter. But unfortunately for the general public the watering is not done in the way in which it should be done. The fact is that while some favoured spots are watered to the consistency of clay, not a few are left wholly to themselves. In this connection, we ought to notice the benefit which has been conferred on the Municipality by the present Chairman by sinking a large well at Bhutkhána, mainly for the purpose of watering the Pánkhátuli and Pipulpati roads. This well, though it cost a pretty large sum, has done much good in the way of supplying water for watering the roads as well as for domestic purposes. An establishment of fifteen *gariwans* and ten sweepers has also been kept up for the purpose of sweeping the roads and removing the street sweepings.

The lighting of the town again has not been forgotten, the present Chairman especially deserving credit for having increased the number of lights from 300 to 462. In Calcutta, the lights are so many and are so beautifully arranged that it seems as if the festival of the *Dewali* were celebrated there

* In the Serampore Municipality also, there are no water-works, and yet the people do not seem to suffer at all. "The river water is used by almost all the people residing close to the river. The people who live in the interior obtain water from tanks for drinking and other domestic purposes." *Administration Report of the Serampore Municipality for 1892-93.*

every night. Although this is not the case in Hooghly, still the lights that exist are reasonably sufficient for the purposes for which they have been set up.

Next in importance to the supply of *pure* water is the drainage of *impure* water. Water has been called life, but what is *life* under one state of circumstances may prove *death* in another. Water which in its running state conduces to health and happiness becomes a fruitful source of injury and misery when it is allowed to stagnate. This is the main, if not the only reason why low marshes and silted up streams breed malaria and give rise to fever and other diseases. The Districts of Twenty-four Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad, Burdwan and Hooghly, were at one time very healthy ; but they have become for some years very unhealthy, simply because the rivers and streams, which were the natural channels, have silted up and ceased to perform their functions, thereby producing obstructions and causing ague and fever. The silting up of the Saraswati has contributed, not a little to the production and spread of malarial fever in Tribeni and its neighbouring villages, all of which were in days not long gone by remarkably healthy spots. The drainage of the Dankunia *bheels* in this district has considerably improved the health and fertility of the surrounding villages. Not many years ago, Calcutta was little better than the notoriously unhealthy places lower down the river, but since the introduction of water-works and the improved system of drainage, a great change for the better has come over it, insomuch that it would be no exaggeration to say that it has become almost a sanatorium.* Except in the comparatively dirty quarters of Bali, the general health of the town is not bad ; but, bad though it is not, it can not be said to be positively good, and this is mainly owing to its defective drainage. True it is, there are no marshes or swamps in it, or the place would become a regular Golgotha ; but the existing drains are so ill kept that they have almost ceased to perform their functions. As they stand at present, the waters, not finding proper outlet, stagnate, and by coming into close contact with rank vegetation, breed malaria. Now that the Municipality has gained importance

* The island of Bombay was for a long time an object of general horror. No man chose to settle a territory so unhealthy as to give rise to the proverb, *That at Bombay a man's life did not exceed two monsoons.* The country places were then filled with bamboos and cocoa trees ; it was with stinking fish that the trees were dunged, and the coasts were corrupted with infectious fens. Afterwards, with the advent of the English, the insalubrity of the air was corrected by laying the country open and procuring a drain for the waters. The Abbé Raynal's *History of European Settlements in the East and West*, Book III., J. O. Justamond's translation, 1873.

as a public institution existing for the promotion of the health and comforts of its inhabitants, it is its bounden duty to show that it has not been remiss in duly executing the grave charge which it has taken upon itself to perform; and, as we have stated before, the proposed drainage scheme, in view of which survey has been made and levels taken, should be put into actual operation without delay.

Besides adopting means to promote the health of its inhabitants, however, a Municipality should proceed further and also provide means for the recruiting of health when it has been put out of order. The human body, as the Bengali adage goes, is a store-house of distempers, and however carefully we may try to keep it from going wrong, it will now and then lose its even tenour and have to seek the aid of the healing art for the restoration of its normal condition. Our Municipality does not fulfil its duty in this respect, for the Commissioners have no dispensary of their own.* The only public dispensary which exists in the Municipality is the Imambara Hospital, the whole expenditure of which is borne by what is called the Mohsin funds. This Hospital has been in existence since 1836,† and has, we must admit, done some good to the general public. A Cholera Hospital has since been established in Chinsura, mainly through the exertions of the present Chairman. The attempt is undoubtedly a very noble one, and we hope and believe that it will prove a successful institution in the cause of humanity.

If, again, it is necessary to provide means for the health of the body, it is equally necessary to provide means for the health of the mind, ignorance being no better than savagery. This want can only be supplied by proper education, and education, as a rule, cannot be imparted without the agency of schools. Of all the duties entrusted to Municipal bodies, the encouragement of education, more especially primary education, is one of the most important, and it is needless to say that this duty should be performed to its fullest extent, of course as far as the funds in hand will admit. In the Administration Report for 1865-66, we find no expenditure entered under the head of public instruction; in fact, there is no such item mentioned even by name. But since then matters have improved, and we find that in 1889-90 Rs. 800 was spent on that account, which was increased to Rs. 980 in the next following year. In 1892-93 the expenditure under this head came up to

* The Serampore Municipality has two Dispensaries of its own, which are maintained at a cost of about Rs. 4,300.

† The Serampore Native Hospital was also established in this year, chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Marshman and Dr. Voigt, the Surgeon. F. G. Elberling's Report, 1845.

Rs. 1,859. In this connection we would suggest that, if the Municipality can manage to establish and maintain a free school in the town, it will do an immense deal of good to poor people who cannot afford to pay for the education of their children.

In hot countries like Bengal, small-pox* is very common, especially in the months of April and May. Inoculation was all along the settled practice in Bengal, and it still lingers in some out-of-the-way villages, but the practice now in general use, as being favoured by Government, is vaccination.† One of the prescribed duties of Bengal Municipalities is the promotion of vaccination. For this purpose a staff of vaccinators is maintained at the expense of this Municipality, who go about vaccinating the people. Vaccination at a certain defined age has been made compulsory, and any departure from this regulation is met with due punishment.

In connection with the subject of health, the matter of burning ghats and burial grounds should not be left unnoticed. Neither the one nor the other should, if possible, exist in the heart of the town. They should be relegated to the extreme limits, and although that might entail some inconvenience on people engaged in the performance of the most painful of all duties, this does not count for much, when compared with the danger arising from the effects of cremation and interment in the midst of a crowded locality. The Kálitolá burning ghat is not so objectionable as the Ghutia Bazar ghat, and if it be possible, the latter should be closed up and a new one built in its stead in a less crowded quarter. The burial grounds which are in the midst of the town are seldom resorted to, most of the corpses of Mahomedans being interred in the maidan at Karbelá, near the Hooghly Railway Station. The Bandel burial-ground for Roman Catholics cannot be removed, but its situation is not objectionable. The Gorasthan burial-ground for Protestants and the Mogultuli burial-ground for Armenians have become almost useless in consequence of the paucity of these sections of the population in the town.

* This dreadful scourge was unknown in antiquity, it having arisen in modern times. Indeed, David Hume very properly observes :—" Diseases are mentioned in antiquity, which are almost unknown to modern medicine ; and new diseases have arisen and propagated themselves, of which there are no traces in ancient history. In this particular we may observe, upon comparison, that the disadvantage is much on the side of the moderns. Not to mention some others of less moment, the small-pox commits such ravages as would almost alone account for the great superiority ascribed to ancient times." *Essay on Populousness of Ancient Nations*. See also Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Vol. I.

† The law relating to vaccination is embodied in Bengal Council Act V of 1880. Opinions differ as to the superior efficacy of vaccination ; and, some doctors even go so far as to condemn it. It seems to us that in Bengal it would be well if the old practice of inoculation were restored.

A word or two about the offices and other public buildings, and I shall have done with this part of the subject. On this head we are sorry to observe, the Hooghly Municipality has not much to boast of. It has no school, no dispensary, no hospital of its own. But, though poor in these matters, it is rich in the possession of a building for its office. This is the Jubilee Hall, which is situated in the very heart of the town, and owes its existence to Mr. G. Toynbee, of whom we have already spoken in connection with his useful publication. This gentleman called a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Hooghly and Chinsura on the 21st March 1887, and thus laid the foundation of a work which has since become an institution of the town. Before this building was erected, the Municipal Office had only "a name," but, since its erection, it has also found "a local habitation." Though not a splendid thing, it very well answers the purposes for which it was built. It is a one-storeyed house, comprising four rooms, two open verandahs, and a central hall, which gives it its name. This is the main office, in which all principal affairs are transacted. The building is also utilized for the purpose of holding public meetings. Thus, it is not only a business resort, but subserves other important purposes as well.

A short description of the Municipality may fitly close this paper. It consists of Hooghly Proper and the townships of Chinsura and Chandernagore, and covers an area of six square miles. It extends along the west bank of the Hooghly river, from the northern extremity of Mirçala to the southern extremity of British Chandernagore, with an average width of a little above a mile. It is divided into six Wards, of which three are in Hooghly Proper, two in Chinsura, and one in Chandernagore. The administration of the Municipality is conducted by eighteen Commissioners including the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman. Of these Commissioners, twelve are elected by the rate-payers and the remaining six are appointed by Government. The number of rate-payers is 7,715. The Hindus muster strong in all the three towns of which the Municipality consists. The number of Mahomedans does not exceed six thousand souls. At one time there were many Europeans living in Hooghly and Chinsura, but a change has since come over the place, and the European population has been reduced to less than a dozen.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY,
Hooghly.

ART. XII.—GREEK SONNETS.

DELPHI.

No mild majestic Christ compassionate,
But Lord of song, and lofty as a star,
Flashed from that mystic cave oracular,
Dread presage of inexorable Fate :
What time Defiance rang from State to State,
And, as an orient storm-wave, surged afar,
Thro' thunder-gloom of peoples massed for war,
The Delphian's rhythmic rede predestinate.

Now o'er yon peaks no chants divine are blown,
Where that illusive Fane, the Doubter's goal ?
The Muses' æry fountain sobs alone,
Thro' thy dim grot no maddening vapours roll,
And no prophetic utterance rends thy soul,
O weird, wan priestess ! for the God has flown.

CHAERONEA.

Of that dread hour I see the shadow loom,
When Philip's host, in bodeful panoply,
Swept toward the shock, and outraged liberty
Could yield her sons no refuge save the tomb :
Not their's to cleave that adamantine gloom,
To strike the blow that glorifies the free,
Not their's to emulate Thermopylae,
And wrest Redemption from the grasp of Doom.

What Shape, august in anguish, mourns them still ?
That head up-thrown, those grim teeth sternly set,
He who hath gazed on once may ne'er forget :
By tragic pangs, by patriot passion's thrill ?
And thy supreme invulnerable will,
O tameless lion, thou art conqueror yet !

PLATÆA.

No perished State has left so pure a name,
 Lonely the dolorous walls—but deem thou not
 This, save by scholars, scarce remembered spot,
 Less worthy of a Pericles' acclaim,
 Than his own Athens' more resplendent fame :
 Hence sprang the hearts whose blood pulsed fiery-hot
 In that red death-grip, ne'er to be forgot,
 When Hellas' heroes set the world aflame.

Be sure, where fell the foremost, there were they,
 When o'er yon plain, to freedom consecrate,
 From stern Cithaeron surged the war-array :
 The Spartan's ruthless steel, the Theban's hate,
 This their sole guerdon ! When shall dawn the day
 Of high deliverance from the chains of Fate ?

SPARTA.

An ageless oak she seemed, foredoomed to grow
 For ever scathless—hath she fallen thus ?
 Where now Terpander's lyre tempestuous ?
 Where old Tyrtaeus' lilt ? who long ago
 Sang spring-tide songs, that set her soul aglow,
 Of glory's awful laurel amorous,
 But rugged as her own Taygetus,
 And shifting as her own Eurotas' flow.

Let other States Circean spoils amass
 Of wealth, art, culture—she the men of steel,
 And calculative craft, who scorned to feel,
 Nurse of Lysander and Leonidas :
 She whose three hundred made three millions reel,
 When Freedom's Star flamed quenchless in the pass.

MYCENAE.

Was't here Cassandra's soul-flash clove the gloom?
 Around these haunted walls—this palace—clings
 The hour when Fate's intolerable wings,
 O'er-shadowed Him, the conqueror, lured to doom:
 Lo! mystic gleams death's awful house illumine,
 Can this be he to Ilion led the kings?
 What woes, what wars, what fiery passion-springs
 Slept in that splendour of Atrides' tomb!

Greek of the Greeks in truth, and born too late
 In alien clime, though not too late for Fame,
 Schliemann! could magic spell reanimate
 Thy potent touch, MYCENAE were the name
 To waft thee, with rekindled hopes aflame
 For victor quest, beyond the lions' gate.

DELOS.

Sea-Queen, who sprang to greet thy Sun-Lord's kiss,
 Priestess of sacred splendour, rhythmic state,
 Did no swift prescience of some shrouded Fate
 Flash thro' thee, darkening toward such doom as this?
 Here, on the wreck of thy Acropolis,
 Let fond impassioned fancy recreate
 The loved lost Gods who left thee desolate,
 Isle of Apollo and of Artemis!

Time was when o'er those many-memored seas,
 Leapt, from Ionian lips, the lyric strain,
 Ere soared the Pilot-Star of Pericles,
 And Athens swayed her democratic main;
 Now lone and low the Delian's shattered Fane,
 And tuneless mourn the choral Cyclades.

C. A. KELLY.

ART. XIII.—DEATH AND LIFE.

CONFITEBRIS VIVENS,

Ecelus, XVII, 28.

The clouds are parted, and the air grows cold ;
The darkened summits of the hill
Lay a sharp shore against the twilight sky
That deepens like a lake of molten gold,
And the bare boughs are still.

Here, in forgotten graves,
How many of our foregoers have found
Return to that maternal breast
Which nursed their infancy ! No sound
Moves them to labour ; but the long grass waves
The flag of their emancipated rest ;
And we who mourn believe ourselves the slaves
Of time, envy their slumber under ground,
And say that their enfranchisement is blest.

But if it be, then nothingness is best,
And all our love of earth, our joy
In living, whatsoever loads we bear,
With means that we employ
To brighten our dark nights and days of care,
Is frustrate ; idle all our generous strife ;
Heroes have lived and poets sung in vain ;
The dead are happy, being free from pain,
And life is a delusion and a snare.

If that be true, as those who teach us say,
And man continues when his soul has fled
So that the ghosts of them we call The Dead
Made pure by freedom from the cage of clay

With yearning presence watch us night and day,
It is great marvel that they are not led
To stanch some of the tears that mourners shed
Or quench the doubts that blight us with their Nay.

But one is there, the Father and the Friend,
The spirit of which our own is but a breath,
Teaching our manhood as he tamed our youth :
He guides the soul that loves him, till the end
Restores it to the giver and blesses death
For those who, seeing not, believe the truth.

And look ! The light is passed ; night's ebony maw
Has swallowed all the liquid sky ;
The outline of the hills, the traceried trees
Are blotted ; our intensest gazing sees
No sign of what, an hour ago, we saw :
And yet, we know, where darkest shadows lie,
The far-off stars are shining on the head
Of many a roosting bird and sheltering sheep,

Not death but life is round us spread,
Light, and not darkness.

Let us leave the dead—
While yet our warmly stirring pulses leap—
Neither pursue them to their doubtful bed
Nor envy what we call their happy sleep.

H. G. K.

THE QUARTER.

TOWARDS the close of December last, the London *Times*, elated with the triumphs of science over disease, confidently predicted, with reference to the Plague, that "the death-list in Bombay would not exceed one thousand for the whole outbreak in a city with over three-quarters of a million inhabitants." Three weeks later it had to acknowledge that the plague had caused the death of some 2,500 human beings in the city in question, and that its grip was not to be shaken off by hygienic measures. The daily telegraphic reports up to 9th March, although not complete, gave 5,357 new cases and 5,046 deaths, shewing that not only had the efforts of the doctors failed to stamp out the disease, but that its effects were nearly always fatal. Europeans have enjoyed a considerable degree of immunity, and when attacked seem to recover more frequently, owing presumably to their better style of living. The latest statistics (9th March) show 7,146 deaths in Bombay City, and 4,897 in other parts of that Presidency.

Dr. Hankin in December gave it as his view, that rats and insects that fed on dead rats, were sources of infection, and that the disease was not due either to air or food ; but that it was communicated by indentation through the skin—we presume by the action of flies, mosquitoes, bugs or ants. We take it that the plague is regarded by Dr. Hankin as a contagious and not an infectious disease. His idea, moreover, was that the damp portions of houses stood most in need of disinfection, and advised the use of chloride of lime in the form of powder, as less likely to hurt caste feelings than disinfectants in a liquid form. The use of anti-toxic serum has been under trial. Surgeon-General Cleghorn commenced his inspection in the first half of January. He recommended compulsory segregation, and the free admission of sun-light and fresh air into houses. His plan was the isolation of patients and the removal of inmates of buildings, where the plague had appeared. Professor Haffkine recommended a military cordon round Bombay, which, of course, would have paralysed trade. The Plague Committee decided to give effect to Dr. Cleghorn's schemes, and to get the heads of families to consent to the evacuation of houses in which plague cases may have occurred—the patients to be put under treatment, and the uninfected to be accommodated in healthy localities. The Government of Bombay has since transferred the powers of the Municipal Corporation and Commission to a special Plague Committee for the purpose of dealing with the plague.

The action taken by the Government of India under the Pilgrims Act, which has left Calcutta and Madras as the only places open for the departure of pilgrims to Mecca, caused some excitement at Madras, both the local Government and the Municipality being averse to the measure. A public meet-

ing was called to protest against Madras being allowed to remain a pilgrim port; the Supreme Government for a time refused to interfere, but ultimately issued a notification forbidding the embarkation for the purposes of a pilgrimage of persons from Bombay and Sind to any Indian ports.

Among the places other than Bombay where the plague has broken out, are Poona, where up to date 407 cases had occurred and 408 deaths, and Karachi, where up to date 2,262 cases had occurred, and 1,995 deaths.

Special measures have been adopted by the Continental Governments in view of the possibility of the plague reaching Europe from India. The French Government has prohibited the landing, at French ports, of any goods from plague-infected places in India. Passengers are now subjected to special quarantine measures, and are to enter France only by Pauillac, St. Nazaire, Havre and Dunkirk. The British Government has been in communication with the French Government with a view to mitigate the rigours of quarantine.

A plague conference has been held at Venice. Owing to the plague being reported at Kandahar, Russia has formed a military cordon on the Bokharan frontier. The anti-toxin, so long in preparation by Professor Haffkine, had at length reached a stage at which it might be largely used in cases not moribund. The preventive lymph for inoculation was found so successful that the Municipal Commissioners, on the recommendation of Dr. Weir, have sanctioned the erection of a large building in the native town for the gratuitous inoculation of all comers. Men, women and children of all races have already been inoculated, and the number was increasing daily by the last report. Two more medical men who had gained experience at Hongong, have arrived at Bombay and been placed on duty in the Secretariat. Dr. Yersin, the plague specialist, has also arrived.

Donations of breadstuffs in Russia, for the sufferers by the Indian famine, are to be conveyed carriage free to Odessa, and thence by free transport to India, by the ships of the Volunteer fleet. Accordingly large consignments of corn destined for India have been coming in to Odessa since 30th December.

By the end of November the exports of wheat from India had practically ceased, and that of rice declined largely. Lord G. Hamilton's excuse for delaying sanction to the opening of a famine fund in England, *viz.*, that an appeal to the public before the area and intensity of the evil were known, would mar its effect, reads well in theory; but, considering that the distress was foreseen so early at least as the autumn, it does not justify the delay on the part of the Government, or relieve them of responsibility for the loss in the meantime of many lives through starvation and its effects. At last, at the Council of Thursday, the 7th January, Lord Elgin announced that

private charity might usefully supplement official effort. He himself had accepted an offer, to preside at a Famine relief meeting in Calcutta, as thousands, perhaps millions, of people over a large area would be in distress for months. A national Indian Famine Relief Fund was at once opened at the Mansion House, Her Majesty opening with 500 pounds.

Lord G. Hamilton's forecast of the extent of the famine contemplates it as affecting 37 millions of population in British territory to the end of March, perhaps to the end of June, besides 6 millions in Native States. It is expected to cost the Indian Treasury in relief and loss of revenue from four millions to six millions sterling.

The great meeting, presided over by the Viceroy in Calcutta, came off at the Dalhousie Institute on the 14th January, and shewed that the authorities had become alive to the situation. The Government of India has declared itself responsible for supplying food to maintain life; but is the timeliness of the supply of such food no element in the responsibility? What if the food comes to centres to which the surrounding population have become too feeble to travel, or at a time when the debilitated condition of the miserable victims of weeks or months of starvation prevents their assimilating it? Is it enough to tell us in the middle of January that the number of persons on relief works had risen to 1,332,000 when we are assured that thousands are reduced by starvation to a state in which they are incapable of work?

To illustrate what we say, look at the condition of the Central Provinces in the middle of December last. A late member of the Bengal Civil Service, and one who was on famine duty in Madras in the Great Famine of 1877, when five millions perished, writes to the following effect: "Prices have risen till they have doubled, and for some time past, reached starvation point for the poor. Everywhere there are traces of the greatest suffering. People emaciated to a terrible degree are now aimlessly wandering about and dying daily on the roads. At present there are more than 1,700 persons in the Jubbulpore poor house, in the last stage of exhaustion and collapse and the medical officer in charge tells me, that but few of them have any chance of recovering." Comparing his present surroundings with his experience in Madras in 1877, he says: "I then held charge of the most afflicted District (Cuddapah); but I never at any time saw anything there worse than the spectacle the Jubbulpore poor-house now presents." That this was so, was shewn by copies of three photographs which were made, on the 15th December, from groups of the inmates, and circulated with the *Statesman*, very shortly after. Mr. Goodridge writes that so far back as in September, the death-rate had risen in the District of Jubbulpore to 97·38; in Saugor to 98·68; in Damoh to 138·07; in Seoni to 70·72; in Mandla

to 108·28, while in some of the towns the figures were still more appalling, though not produced by epidemic disease. The death-rate per mille was—

Jubbulpore city	...	...	110·02
Marwara town	...	...	182·66
Shora town...	...	...	225·59

One point made clear by the results in the Central Provinces is that a "famine of labour" can only be met successfully *by being taken in time*. If the people are not kept in fair condition, but allowed to fall below a certain point and become enfeebled, future efforts can do little to restore them to health. And notwithstanding private efforts in every part of the Division for feeding the famine-stricken in relief houses and giving them blankets, the death-rate has been fearful, and the misery widespread.

At the Calcutta Meeting the scheme of relief proposed was disclosed to the public, who were invited to co-operate in relief operations. A Central Committee was also organized, and a subscription list opened, Lord Elgin heading it with Rs. 10,000 and Ralli Brothers following with Rs. 20,000. One lakh and thirty thousand Rupees were subscribed on the spot. A Central Committee was organized, with the Queen Empress as *Patron*; the Viceroy and Governor-General as *President*, and the heads of the local governments and administrations, including the Commander-in-Chief, as *Vice-Presidents*, and the Chief Justice of Bengal as *Chairman*. The Members of this General Committee formed so long and unwieldy a list that the first thing it did on coming together the following day (Sir Francis MacLean being convener and Chairman), was to appoint an Executive Committee for Calcutta, and Provincial Committees for other parts of the country.

The telegram sent to the Secretary of State by the Viceroy has also been communicated to the public. It shews the relief operations which are given below in a tabulated form :—

Presidency or Province.	Relief works.	Workers.	Children and other Dependants.	Gratuitous relief to
Punjab ...	28	30,489	10,278	353
Test works	36	4,391	...	.....
N.-W. P. and Oudh	64	279,428	77,645	39,544
Bengal...	87	68,476	18,000	13,593
Test works	5	422	.....	.....
Burmah	4	24,727	...	5,407
Madras	21	19,543	.....	.....
Bombay	80	2,32,443	.....	6,917
Test works	28			
Central Provinces	99	149,062	.....	.....
Test works	8			

Besides the above, there were poor houses as given below—

	Poor houses.	Inmates.
N.-W. P. and Oudh	...	112
Bengal	...	8
C. Provinces	...	61

In the C. Provinces there were on the same date 29,027 on railway works.

These statistics, it will be observed, take no note of the abnormal mortality caused by the famine. The reason given in Parliament for not shewing mortality tables simultaneously with tabulated relief operations, is that they take so much more time to collect. Let us, however, look at the following table which compares the mortality in the Central Provinces, one of the two worst stricken Divisions (the other being the Punjab), from 1st January to 30th September 1896 with the mean of ten previous years, 1886 to 1895.

Districts.	Population (Census 1891.)	Deaths at normal rate, 2.6 per mille.	Actual Deaths.	Excess over normal.
Narsingpore ...	367,026	8,586	12,646	4,060
Hosungabad ...	525,276	12,285	16,371	4,086
Nimar ...	172,120	4,023	6,839	2,816
Burhampore ...	81,366	1,899	2,206	307
Betul ...	322,196	7,560	8,874	1,314
Chindwara ...	339,443	7,938	10,807	2,869
Balaghat ...	383,331	8,964	12,458	3,494
Bandara ...	742,850	15,448	15,709	261
Nagpore ...	757,862	17,730	20,137	2,407
Wardha ...	400,854	9,378	12,872	3,494
Chanda ...	561,099	13,122	14,104	982
Raipore ...	1,755,698	29,376	28,943	-433
Bilaspore ...	827,433	19,359	21,725	2,366
Sumbulpore ...	388,205	9,081	8,979	-102
Jubbulpore ...	574,838	13,446	21,874	8,428
Saugor ...	191,743	13,842	27,004	13,162
Damoh ...	325,613	7,614	17,929	10,315
Mirwara ...	173,308	4,050	7,898	3,848
Mandla ...	339,373	7,938	15,088	7,150
Seoni ...	370,767	8,667	13,903	5,236
C. P. Totals ...	9,501,401	220,306	296,366	76,060

These figures are contributed from the official Gazette by an intelligent correspondent of the *Pioneer*, and their value consists in the fact that the deaths from cholera have been eliminated, the number (296,366) at foot of the column of actual deaths in the first nine months of 1896 being the result after deduction of the fatal cholera cases. Notwithstanding such deduction, the excess over the normal rate of death reached the frightful figure of 76,060 over the entire area of the Central Provinces to the end of September last.

On the 13th February there was a public Meeting at the Town Hall, Jubbulpore, with a view to elect a Divisional Committee and a District Committee, whose duty it would be to receive and expend the funds allotted to the Jubbulpore district, and also to collect funds locally. The Commissioner was present, and invited discussion as to the best mode of applying

the money in the relief operations. Among the measures proposed Mr. Goodridge, whose experience and interest in famine matters was invaluable, suggested the purchase of cattle from cultivators, offering to sell them below value, to be restored to them when the time came for cultivating the soil to receive the next *kharif* crops; (2) the purchase of seed-grain to be supplied to cultivators when sowings begin; (3) supply of additional rations and clothes to poor houses and relief workers. These suggestions were cordially approved by the Commissioner, who gave particulars of what was being done in the Division. We have not space to go into details; suffice to say that at the end of January 183,000 persons were receiving relief from Government in this Division, but later there had been a substantial fall in numbers, owing to harvesting operations. But though the crops in some parts were promising, and prices might rise slightly when the new grain came in, material alleviation of the situation could not be looked for, until the early monsoon crops had been gathered. A recent tour of Mr. Goodridge in the Jubbulpore Division has disclosed other aspects of the misery of the people. At the relief works the people were in rags. The plough-cattle are being extensively sold and slaughtered for the benefit of butchers and hide merchants, and it is feared that sowing operations among the Ghonds will be materially retarded.

Next to the Central Provinces, the Punjab has suffered most. The Branch there of the Famine Fund reported in the middle of February that their local funds were exhausted, the losses of cattle had been enormous, and the proprietary body had come to the end of its resources. Eleven lakhs of rupees were asked for to aid the aged and infirm and children, to maintain orphans, and to relieve poor but respectable persons who would sooner die than beg; and also to provide seed-grain and cattle for cultivators.

Lord Elgin, shortly after his return to Calcutta, presided at the Meeting of the 14th January. Better late than never; but no efforts now put forth can overtake the continuing effects of the disastrous delay on the part of Government in uniting with private benevolence to save life.

The Royal Commission for inquiring into Indian expenditure, Civil and Military, commenced its sittings under the presidency of Lord Welby, at the India Office, on the 8th February. The first witness examined was Sir Henry Brackenbury, late Military Member of the Viceroy's Council. Then came Lord Roberts and others. We trust that the expenditure on account of the annual picnics to the hills will be thoroughly investigated and declared.

In our last summary the scheme of the Port Commissioners, for restricting the use of the jetties to import cargoes, had not been sanctioned by the Government of India, pending a more definite expression of the views of the Chamber of

Commerce. The Chamber were engaged in placing the question before the whole body of members (165); but before its promised reply could be received, the Lieutenant-Governor, in the Marine Department, addressed the Financial Secretary, giving the *pros* and *cons* of the proposed arrangements. Sir Alexander Mackenzie's opinion was that the objections to the scheme, which come mainly from the P. & O. Company, had been entirely met by the Port Commissioners; and that the only one of any weight would cease to have force if the Government of India would sanction the purchase, by the Commissioners, of a powerful tug steamer to assist vessels moving from the jetties to the docks. Colonel McArthur's letters to the Financial Department have been published; and they shew that no improved arrangement would enable the jetties to meet both import and export transactions, while the cost of such improvement would render it impracticable. On the other hand, any inconvenience and expense caused to shippers dissatisfied with the Port Commissioner's arrangements at the Docks, would be trivial in comparison with the loss and harassment caused to importers and ship-agents by a block at the jetties. As regards the particular point at which the Government of India hesitated, *viz*, the possibility of the scheme being objected to by the commercial interests concerned, His Honour thinks those interests are powerfully represented in the Port Commission, who have in view the good of the trade of the Port as a whole. Since the publication of this correspondence a special general meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, convened by leading objectors to the scheme, threw out by a majority of 34 against 18, a Resolution protesting against the decision of the Government of India regarding the use of the Kidderpore docks for exports.

Though not so distinguished a phrase-maker as Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Gladstone has dropped epithets which "stick." Such is the title which he bestowed on the Sultan of Turkey, on the occasion of the unveiling of a stained glass-window presented to the parish church at Hawarden, to commemorate the slaughter of the Armenians in Turkey; when he called him "the greatest assassin in the world." The present position, however, seems to be this. Our prime Minister has succeeded in bringing about a concert of the Powers, which will consider measures of coercion rather than suffer a fresh rebuff at the hands of the Sultan. Notwithstanding the determination of England not to act against Turkey, except in concert with Europe, Lord Salisbury in the debate on the address from the throne, used language, the significance of which can hardly be overestimated. When reviewing our past policy, that of Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon, he said that we had "put our money on the wrong horse," when we backed the Sultan against the Czar Nicholas. With the Armenian problem still unsolved, the interest of the quarter

has, however, centred upon another phase of the Eastern question—we mean the relation of Crete to Turkey. This brings the Greek to the front, and intense excitement has been manifested in Greece in the affairs of Crete. The scheme of the Powers for the reorganization of a Cretan gendarmerie has proved the signal for re-lighting the torch of civil war in Crete. The Mahomedans swarmed into the Hera Klion, where the Christians had entrenched themselves in strategic positions, and collisions became inevitable. The panic and the fighting broke out again at Canea, notwithstanding the presence of Major Bor of the British army in provisional command of the Cretan gendarmerie; and Canea was only restored to order by patrols of blue jackets and marines from the British, French and Italian men-of-war in the Bay. The real conflict is, however, between Turkey and Greece, and Greek and Turkish forces were collecting near the frontiers of Albania. The former has appealed to the Powers, and the latter is not to be bullied by diplomacy into forsaking the Christians in Crete whither she has despatched a squadron. In February, popular meetings were held all over Greece, demanding the annexation of the island; while the Powers have advised Greece to recall her warships from Crete. The foreign Admirals have prepared a plan for the coercion of Greece, including the blockade of the Piræns and the Cretan coast, and the seizure of Greek warships disobeying orders. The autonomy of Crete with a Christian governor under the suzerainty of the Sultan is what the Powers have agreed to. But fighting continues in Crete between Greeks and Mahomedans. The bombardment of Canea by the Powers, when confirmed in Parliament, evoked strong feeling—the opposition howling and hooting, and Sir W. Harcourt protesting against British shells being used against Cretan Greeks. On the 6th March upwards of ten thousand people assembled in Hyde Park to protest against coercion being applied to Greece. One hundred members of the House of Commons, including Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Herbert Gladstone, lauding His Majesty's services in the cause of civilization. Parties of volunteers were leaving England to join the Greek army. These practical demonstrations indicate the trend of public feeling at home beyond dispute or doubt. While we are going to Press, the reply of Greece to the collective note of the Powers has been received. It urges the restoration of Crete to Greece and says that Greece cannot withdraw her troops as that would leave the Cretans to the mercy of the Mahomedans.

The Anglo-American treaty of general arbitration was signed at Washington on the 11th January by the British Ambassador, Sir J. Pauncefote, and by the Secretary of State, Mr. Olney. It needs, however, the confirmation of the Senate of the United States to whom it has been sent. The committee of that body have made such recommendations as deprive it of all that was valuable. If accepted with the modifications

suggested, it would be a shame, and would amount to an agreement that both parties will arbitrate "when they feel like it, and not otherwise." It is said to have been shelved by the Senate for the present.

The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, as the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign has been called, is attracting attention as regards the best mode of celebrating it. Different schemes have been proposed, all more or less partaking of the practical character of the English, for associating it with some philanthropic or charitable purpose, such as a gigantic scheme for the collection of money for the benefit of the London Hospitals. As regards the ceremonial to be observed, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Connaught have been discussing it with the great officers of State at Marlborough House. The prime ministers of all the self-governing colonies have been invited to come to England to take part in the celebration; and it has been proposed that detachments representing their military forces as well as those of the dependencies of the Crown shall be brought over.

The modification of the Merchandise Marks Bill, if not its repeal, is being contemplated, as the scare implied in the words "made in Germany" is dying away. It is being felt that we need not go on advertising our competitors in neutral markets, and, as the *Times* says, "apart from advertisement of our rivals, is it not plain that we are frequently striking at some home industry? There are, no doubt, some articles which are produced both in this country and abroad, the English article being higher in price, but better in quality. People do not want to be protected from German articles that are good and cheap. They buy them even with 'made in Germany' staring them in the face, and they will leave them alone when English ones, equally good, are offered at the same or a somewhat lower price."

The year opened with one of those massacres which demonstrate the need of coercion for savage kings. A peaceful mission, headed by Acting Consul-General Philips, consisting of seven European officers, Civil and Military and 250 natives, was proceeding from the West-Coast of Africa to the City of Benin, on the frontiers of which they were fired upon, surrounded and captured. There seems hardly a hope that any have escaped or been spared. The savage brutality and reckless cruelty of the King of Benin seems to make the overthrow of his rule one of the duties we owe to humanity.

A punitive expedition to Benin city began to advance on the 3rd February, consisting of a Naval Contingent and other troops. Several posts had been occupied, and the first village on the road to Benin taken and stockaded.

Among the personal changes recorded in our last summary was the appointment of Mr. W. William Mackworth Young, C. S. I., to succeed Sir Dennis FitzPatrick as Lieutenant-

Governor of the Punjab. Sir Dennis made over the reins of Government to Mr. Young on the 5th March.

The Obituary of the Quarter includes the names of the Right Reverend George Wyndham Hamilton Knight Bruce, first Bishop of Mashonaland; Lieutenant-Colonel David Mackinlay Potter; Hon. George Von Bunsen; Lieutenant-Colonel John Thomas Carruthers, I. S. C. (retired); Major-General Henry Thomas Richmond; Major-General George Borlase Tremenheere; General Henry St. Clair Wilkins; Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, G. C. B.; Sir John Brown; Mr. Bertram Wodehouse Currie; Lady Forwood; General Sir George Colt Langley, G. C. B.; Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Grant Maltby, I. S. C.; Major-General J. D. Mein; Royal Artillery; Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Cobham Nicholson, M. D., I. M. S. (retired); General Meredith Read; Mr. Alfred Turner; Herr J. W. Von Wasielewski; Rev. James Ind Welldon, D. C. L., Honorary Canon of Canterbury; Rev. Herbert Evans, D. D.; Colonel C. H. Ewart, I. S. C.; M. Vivien de St. Martin; Mr. Richard Vigors Doyne, Barrister; Mr. A. C. Duff, I. C. S.; Major-General John Innis Gibbs, B. C. S. (retired); Surgeon-General Manifold; Surgeon-Major Robert Manser; Lady Elizabeth Villiers; Mr. James Talboys Wheeler; Major-General George Augustus Williams; Sir Travers Twiss; Rev Thomas Hooper, Mr. Frederick John Mouatt, M. D., F. R. C. S., L.L. D.; Mr. Robert Keith Pringle; Lieutenant-Colonel Montague Brook Wilbraham Taylor; Sir Isaac Pitman; Mr S. E. J. Clarke, Secretary to the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce; Karl Herman Satherberg; Mme. Edith Wynne (Mrs. Agabeg); General Sir Robert Phayre, G. C. B.; Sir Thomas Spencer Wells; General Alfred Butler Little; and Mr. Montague Vizetelly.

Of these Mr. Doyne, an advocate of the High Court, will be recalled to mind as having taken a leading part in the agitation which was set on foot against the License Tax, when he delivered one of the most powerful and exhaustive speeches which have ever been heard in the Town Hall of Calcutta. Dr. Mouatt was a familiar figure to a past generation. He was a man of great versatility of talent, and rendered services in Calcutta in his youth, as a Lecturer, and in maturer years in the educational department as well as in his own profession, as a promoter of sanitary reforms. Mr. Talboys Wheeler was a literary celebrity in his way, and excited the jealousy of his covenanted superiors by his brilliant talents. Mr. S. E. J. Clarke's merits are being recognized everywhere, and are too fresh in our memories to need to be repeated.

March 12th, 1897.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

Backwards or Forwards? BY COLONEL H. B. HANNA ; formerly belonging to the Punjaub Frontier Force and late Commanding at Delhi ; Author of "*Can Russia invade India*" and "*India's Scientific Frontier.*" Westminster : Archibald Constable and Company.

THE weak point in Colonel Hanna's case is his failure to prove that there is no feasible third alternative. Why should we go either backwards or forwards ? Why should we not remain where we are ? That it is impossible to stand still, may be a valid proposition in the domain of ethics. But it does not necessarily follow that it is so in that of war. In justice to the author, it must be admitted that a considerable portion of his argument is devoted to an attempt to show that we cannot remain where we are. All, however, that he really succeeds in proving is that our present position is not the best possible, which is very far from being the same thing, and which, indeed, it was quite unnecessary to prove. That the "Forward Policy" has proved an enormously costly one ; that it has added heavily to the burden of taxation and diminished the wealth out of which taxation is paid, that it has helped largely to swallow up the Famine Fund and aggravated the Exchange difficulty, is indisputable. The sturdiest of its champions would probably have shrunk from advocating it, had he foreseen that it would cost even half the seventy-one millions sterling which, in one way and another, Colonel Hanna shows to be properly debitable to this account. It is clear, however, that the true test of the tenability of a position, so far as it depends upon financial considerations at all, is not what it has cost to acquire, but what it will cost to retain. Moreover, it is the net and not the gross cost that we have to consider in either case. The fact that the Forward Policy has entailed on us an expenditure of seventy-one millions in the past is, no doubt, greatly to be deplored, but is absolutely irrelevant to the question Colonel Hanna sets himself to discuss. Much of the expenditure, like that for railways, fortifications and wars, is admittedly not recurrent. The cost of the permanent increase made to the army in 1885-86 cannot all be fairly debited to the extension of our North-Western Frontier. To much of this expenditure, again, there must be some set-off in the shape of revenue, even though it may not be technically classed as reproductive. To a large extent, too, Colonel

Hanna's case for retirement is based not so much on the inherent defects of our actual position as on the consequences to which it may lead us in the future. Thus he argues, bad as our present position on this Frontier may be, it is safe and economical compared to that which must eventually succeed it, *if we persist in remaining where we are*. . . . Therefore it is that I put no faith in any in partial retirement. Even if it were not palpably as wise a thing "to let the web of difficulties" spread itself for our enemies to the mouth of the Bolan as to the mouth of the Khyber; even if Quetta and its communications were not a financial quicksand in which millions of rupees must annually disappear to no purpose, I should still urge the abandonment of that fortress, on the ground *that we should never be safe against the temptation to use it as a base whence to renew our conquests*. This, however, is palpably to beg the whole question. It must be admitted that Colonel Hanna makes out an exceedingly strong case in favour of the first two branches of his three-fold contention—that a Russian invasion of India is impossible; that India's present North-West Frontier is unsound; and that the price we are paying for its maintenance and extension is extravagant. Referring to the chances of a Russian invasion, he says:—

The two provinces of Transcaspia and Turkestan, taken together cover 1,500,000 square miles, an area only one-sixth less than that of India and Burma combined; but whereas the latter countries contain 290,000,000 inhabitants, Russian Central Asia counts only 6,400,000, and this proportion of 45 to 1 can never be altered in our rival's favour, because the limits of India's productive power are capable of almost indefinite expansion, whilst those of Central Asia have practically been already reached. But the same causes which will continue to keep down the population in the two provinces to about its present level, will stand in the way of any considerable addition being made to the 41,000 troops* of all arms of which their Russian garrison is now composed, and we may dismiss from our minds the fear that Central Asia can ever be used as a base whence to attempt the conquest of India.

The Russians, it is true, are occupying more and more territory, year by year, exactly as we ourselves are doing, but the stream of advance grows shallower as it flows, dwindling down to a handful of men in the terrible mountain region

* In calculating the true strength of the Russian garrison in Central Asia, as in judging of that of the British garrison in India, large deductions must be made for sickness. Epidemics, at all times rife in Central Asia, have of late years assumed most malignant forms, and the troops, as well as the native population, have suffered and are still suffering severely.

through which it is our latest craze to look for their approach,* and if their Government is ever mad enough to embark on the grand adventure into which we suppose it to be burning to rush, everything connected with that adventure—arms, ammunition, provisions and men—must come direct from the Caucasus, to concentrate—where? Not at Herat, even if Herat were already in their hands. That coveted province proves little less disappointing than the “Garden of Central Asia” when viewed, not through the eyes of the weary, thirst-tortured traveller, escaping with joy from the horrors of the desert, and judging of the whole country by the small portion of which he catches fleeting glimpses,† but through those of a soldier and diplomatist, who spent months within its boundaries, and enjoyed unrivalled opportunities of making himself acquainted with every part of it.

The real truth of the situation, as determined by Nature, however much delimitation commissions may trace new boundaries on their maps, is that the Asiatic Empires of Great Britain and Russia practically cannot meet. Let us draw the line that is to divide them where we will, on either side of it will lie uninhabitable wastes. To put an extreme case, one which in my judgment will never occur. Supposing Afghanistan to have been entirely subdued by Russia, and that she and we have decided that our common frontier shall be drawn along the eastern foot of the Suliman Mountains—at the southern extremity of that line, *her* last outpost of any strength would be at Quetta and *ours* at Jacobabad, separated from each other by 202 miles of painful and difficult road, whilst, at its northern extremity, 81 miles of formidable passes would separate Peshawur from Jellalabad,‡ which, for argument’s sake, I will assume to be as strongly fortified and garrisoned as Quetta. But when we talk of *strongly garrisoned*, we must interpret the adverb according to our experience of what can be done—in that line, in a poor country, at a considerable distance from the troops’ only base of supplies; and though we may have erected at Quetta fortifications capable of holding 15,000 men, 3,000 to 4,000 is the maximum we are able to keep there permanently. Could the Russians do more, or anything like as much, with their true base

* The British members of the Commission which met last year to delimitate the Pamirs had to cut down their escort to ten men, owing to transport and commissariat difficulties.

† Vambéry’s glowing vision of the future harvests of the Badghis and Herat provinces under European rule, was based upon the usual number of streams by which they are traversed. Doubtless he saw those streams full of water, and forgot that all the smaller ones are empty, except when the snow is melting in the mountains.

‡ Jellalabad lies in the only valley of any extent between Kabul and Peshawur, and is the one spot on that route suitable for the erection of a *place d’armes*.

at Tiflis, 1,748 miles away, three times farther off than ours, taking the country beyond Multan as the granary which feeds Quetta to-day? Thus limited, neither the garrison of Quetta, nor that of Jellalabad could contribute anything to a Russian army on its march to India. Come when it may, that army must needs start from the Caucasus, and will find itself under the inexorable necessity of hurrying forward with the least possible delay. And what is the line of communication on which it should have to depend? A single-lined railway, liable at one part of its course to be interrupted by sand, at another by snow, at a third by floods; exposed for hundreds of miles to the danger of a flank attack from Persia (unless I am to concede that Persia, too, has become a Russian province), and for other hundreds to the raids of the Afghan tribes, who would fly to arms at once if they saw their conqueror involved in a life-and-death struggle with ourselves; and beyond the railway, roads running through narrow defiles, and over a waterless, burning desert—roads on which, at the very outset, the terrible transport difficulty would be awaiting them in the shape of endless stores, choking the little terminus, and clamouring for camels and mules and ponies to carry them on.

There are British officers, even British generals, who still profess to believe that India can be invaded from Central Asia; but there are also Russian military men who do not hesitate to avow that such an invasion is impossible. That very Skobelev who, when ignorant of all the conditions of the problem, wrote so glibly of organizing "masses of Asiatic cavalry,"* and hurling them into India under the banner of blood and pillage, as a vanguard as it were, thus reviving the times of Tamerlane," a little later, when his judgment had been cleared and chastened by the difficulties which he had had to overcome before he could provision and move a tiny force against the Tekke Turcomans, used very different language. "I do not understand," so he spoke to Mr. Charles Marvin, who interviewed him at St. Petersburg in 1882,— "I do not understand military men in England writing in the *Army and Navy Gazette*, which I take in and read, of a Russian invasion of India. I should not like to be the commander of such an expedition. The difficulties would be enormous. To subjugate Akhal we had only 5,000 men, and needed 20,000 camels. To get that transport, we had to send to Orenberg, to Khiva, to Bokhara, and to Mangishlak

* It is a curious commentary on Skobelev's "masses of Asiatic cavalry" that, according to Major J. Wolfe Murray, "three very modest squadrons of irregulars, aggregating 310 rank and file, is all the Turcoman cavalry that Russia possesses."

for animals. The trouble was enormous. To invade India, we should need 150,000 troops: 60,000 to enter India with and 90,000 to guard the communications. If 5,000 men needed 20,000 camels, what would 150,000 need, and where could we get the transport? We should require vast supplies, for Afghanistan is a poor country and could not feed 60,000 men, and we should have to fight the Afghans as well as you."*

It comes, then, to this: that, though the food supplies of a large Russian army might be furnished by Caucasia, its *personnel* and military stores must come from Europe, which throws back its true base to the Black Sea in one direction and to Moscow in another, and deprives the dream of a Russian invasion of India of the last vestige of probability.†

And, again, I have shown, firstly, that Russia possesses in Central Asia no base for the organization and supply of a large army; that the acquisition of Afghanistan would not furnish her with one, and that, consequently, she is to-day, and must continue to remain, as far off India, for all purposes of invasion, as she was when she finally established herself in the Caucasus, nearly forty years ago, except in so far as the construction of the Transcaspian Railway has increased her power of movement; that that railway, single-lined, and hampered throughout long stretches by want of water, is open for hundreds of miles to Persian attack; that, were it completed to Kandahar, or even to Kabul, it would, in its whole length, be exposed to the raids of Turcoman and Afghan, and in constant danger from sandstorm or snowstorm, earthquake or flood; and that it constitutes, therefore, too precarious a means of communication for any commander to feel himself justified in trusting to it alone; that, if its rails were doubled, it could not relieve a

* Colonel Grodekoff, whom Skobelev employed to collect supplies for the Akhal Tekke campaign, protested even more emphatically than his chief against the mischievous belief that Russia meditated an invasion of India, and showed at the same time a better appreciation of the resistance which the British Indian Empire could offer to its foes. "Look," he said to Mr. Marvin, at the enormous difficulties we encountered in overcoming Geok Tepé. We killed 20,000 camels during the campaign, in which only 5,000 troops were engaged. We should need 300,000 men to invade India, and where could we obtain the transport and supplies for such a number? It would be impossible for us to march such an army to India. Rest assured that a Russian invasion of India is an impossibility."

† "The Russian Empire, which, from various considerations, such as its vast area, the homogeneity of its population and their solid patriotism, is impregnable as a defensive power, is singularly weak for offence. The very qualities which make the Russian soldiery so formidable at home render them inefficient abroad. The inferior quality of the officers and generals; the indescribable corruption which makes the transport and commissariat departments invariably break down; the want of communications, and the general absence in staff and men of any intelligent spirit—these and other causes render the Russian armies, so overwhelming on paper, altogether unreliable for offensive warfare."—SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1896.

Russian Government, bent on the invasion of India, of the necessity of organizing a transport train at some point or other ; that Central Asia, and Afghanistan to boot, could not supply the beasts of burden that would be required to move a force adequate to so great an enterprise ; that their numbers, were it possible to obtain them, would render the task of feeding them utterly impossible ; and that, if the transport difficulty could be overcome, and a Russian army were really to make its way through Afghanistan, there is no point within striking distance of British territory where it could halt to concentrate and recruit ; and that by whatever route it might elect to advance, by one line or many, it would always enter India in a succession of very small bodies.

I have shown, secondly, on the one hand, that the old Indus Frontier is, by nature, so exceptionally strong as to merit the epithet—invulnerable ; that its lines of communication, both lateral and in rear, are all that can be desired, and that behind it we could bring our resources to bear upon an invader with the maximum of certainty and speed, and be in a position to crush him at the least possible expense and loss to ourselves, and the greatest possible expense and loss to him ; and, on the other hand, that the new Frontier, which has replaced that of the Indus Valley, not only lacks the advantages attaching to the latter, but has actually transformed them into dangers ; that its communications are bad ; that all our attempts to render them trustworthy have failed ; that the forces by which it is held are out of proportion small compared to the area and character of the country, and the temper of the people* they are expected to control ; and that this weakness is not accidental, but inherent in the situation—the cost of maintaining troops in a barren country at a great distance from their sources of supply, compelling the military authorities to cut down their numbers within the narrowest limits compatible with the performance of their duties under ordinary circumstances, and to allow no margin to meet emergencies.

If we wish to keep Afghanistan without arousing her jealousy, our true policy, Colonel Hanna maintains, is to tell Russia that we intend to regard any act of aggression committed against the territory of our ally as an act of hostility directed against

* "The attitude of the population could never be depended upon in an emergency, as was sufficiently demonstrated in the interval between the battles of Maiwand and Kandahar, when the very stations upon our line of rail were menaced by bodies of marauders, and there was not a single post throughout the whole length of our line of communications which was not threatened or attacked in many places *in localities where the population appeared devoted to us, and it had been years since any sort of disturbance had occurred.*"—MR. C. E. BIDDULPH, M.A., *Political Officer with Sir Donald Stewart's and General Phayre's forces in the Afghan War of 1878-79-80.*

ourselves, and to avenge it by attacking her in her only vulnerable points—her sea-board, her commerce, and her fleet.*

By adopting this course we should add to the three lines of defence already protecting our Indian Empire on the north-west, yet a fourth, in the shape of a truly friendly Afghanistan; and in case of a war with Russia, and perhaps some other European power, so far from having to increase the strength of India's British garrison, we could draw boldly upon her Native troops to meet dangers threatening us in Eastern Asia or Africa.

As to the objection that a policy of withdrawal would be attended by a dangerous loss of prestige, Colonel Hanna argues that no nation's prestige can suffer from an accession of strength; and if ours were to decline temporarily, in the eyes of such of our neighbours as should fail to see what we gain by a withdrawal from Beluchistan and Waziristan, from Gilgit and Chitral, the mistake might injure them, but could not injure us. Such a step would, indeed, be a confession of past ignorance and folly, but then it would, at the same time, be a proclamation of a return to knowledge and common sense.

The experiment, moreover, he argues, has already been put to the test and justified by results.

When Lord Ripon arrived in India, in June, 1880, he found the Anglo-Indian army occupying the whole of Afghanistan. Within one year from that date, India, except for the retention of Quetta and the Pishin Valley, had returned to her old frontier,† and the Government of India, every member of which loyally supported the new order of things, could turn its attention to the task of undoing the evil work of the previous administration. In 1881-82, 82-83, 83-84, the military expenditure was brought down to a point not greatly exceeding the standard prevailing before the war, while in 1884-85 it was Rs. 760,664 below that standard; and yet Sir Auckland Colvin, the then Financial Member of Council, was able to state that although "the total net military charges in India and England were lower than they had been at any time during the past ten years, this had been effected without prejudice to efficiency, or any reduction in the authorised aggregate strength of the army, and notwithstanding that the non-effective and superannuation charges have in recent years largely increased."‡ Careful husbanding of the Indian finances gave, by the end of the financial year 1883-84, an Imperial surplus of revenue over expenditure of Rs. 13,874,960; but Lord Ripon did not wait to have this sum in hand before entering upon important fiscal and domestic reforms.

The salt tax was largely reduced, and the whole of the import duties, with the exception of those on wine, spirits, malt liquor, arms and ammunition, were abolished. The borrowing of money for the construction of railways was continued, but under strict compliance with the principle laid down by Lord Hartington, that *no new line was to be undertaken unless the prospects of its proving remunerative were good.*

Fresh contracts were entered into with the Provincial Governments, each of which was started on its new career with a substantial sum in hand, whilst all

* "No railways, no forts, no agreements are of the least use, unless the English Government—I do not mean the Government of to-day or to-morrow—unless the English Government, supported by the voice of the people, insist that Russia shall no more cross the Afghan frontier than that her troops should land on the coast of Kent or Sussex." SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN.

† See *India's Scientific Frontier*, p. 51.

‡ *Indian Financial Statement for 1885-86.*

were encouraged, in their turn, to economize and develop their resources, by the assurance that the Central Government would not rob them of the fruit of their self-denial and energy.

Lastly, the famine fund, of which mention has several times been made in these pages, was established on a permanent footing, not only to relieve existing distress, but to carry out the public works by which the danger of famines occurring could gradually be lessened, if not entirely overcome.

And what were the political results of the withdrawal from Afghanistan—the Afghanistan of the Tribes, as well as the Afghanistan of the Amir? Did it produce alarm and disaffection in India? Did it mortify and discontent the Native Army? Did it lower our influence with the Independent Tribes and encourage them to raid upon our territory? Did it weaken us in our relations to our European neighbours?

The answer to every one of these questions is an emphatic—No. The Indian people, relieved from the strain of war, went about its ordinary occupations with renewed activity and cheerfulness. The Native Army rejoiced to find itself once more at home. The Independent Tribes respected our border so scrupulously that, during the whole of Lord Ripon's administration, not a single punitive expedition had to be sent against them, and the British Government could embark on the Egyptian and Soudan campaigns without any fear of being called upon to strengthen our forces in India. On the contrary, the Indian Government was able to lend troops to Great Britain, and even to contribute Rs. 6,820,000 to the expenses of the Egyptian War, and this without having to impose fresh burdens on its subjects.

The Thackerays in India. By SIR W. W. HUNTER. Henry Frowde : London.

ALTHOUGH anything connected with our great novelist will always be of interest to the reading world, it is, if we are not mistaken, the first Chapter of Sir W. W. Hunter's book, that dealing with "Some Old Calcutta Graves," that will appeal most to the generality of Anglo-Indian readers. If we are to believe all that has been said of our predecessors here of a century ago, they were, for the most part, a passionate, ungenerous and backbiting set. "If," says the writer, "an Indian administrator happened to belong to some close evangelical borough at Madras or Serampur, he received the doubtful honour of an "improving biography. Otherwise he passed to his grave unknown, unless someone had something to say against him." In spite of this the story of their lives—of what they did, what they suffered, and how they died—is full of interest and pathos, and may be read with advantage by those who live the luxurious life of India in the present day, and are apt to lose sight of the difficulties, discouragements and disasters with which the founders of our Empire here had to contend.

They found Calcutta a swamp, and they created on it a capital. They are reproached for the superfluity of mosquito-breeding ponds and cholera-haunted tanks which they scattered over the town. But we forget that much of Calcutta was then a marsh, amid which its builders had to dig wide, deep holes so as to get a little earth with which, like beavers, they might pile up dry spots, for their dwellings. The excavations that yielded the raised mounds for their homes upon an almost fluid ooze, are the mosquito-breeding ponds of to-day. We are apt to forget, too, the price paid for Calcutta by past generations of

Englishmen ; that, in fact, our City of Places is circumvallated by entrenchments of their dead.

In his apologia for the dead who now lie silent and neglected under the crumbling, weather worn monuments in the old disused cemeteries in Calcutta, Sir W. W. Hunter, in his easy and graceful manner, limns, in a few graphic strokes, a very apt picture of Anglo-Indian society as it is now, a society which,—naturally, perhaps, when one comes to think it out,—takes no thought for the tombs, or for the memories, of the men who laboured so hard under such untoward circumstances, to build up, with the “sword in one hand and the trowel in the other” the heritage to which they have succeeded.

The English drama in India is played amid a bustle of exits and entrances, and a hurried scene-shifting, which allow time for nothing but the present. Migratory Calcutta takes knowledge only of the people with whom it dances and dines, and regards all others, who do not go out, with an unconcern quite good-natured but absolutely complete. Now the dwellers in these silent settlements have not gone out anywhere for a century. They have sat at no man's feast nor heard any church-bell knoll, and the most famous of them, under their pyramidal tombs, are objects of as genteel an indifference to Calcutta as is the half-pagan population fallen away from Christian rites in the slums of the city.

Could any picture be more true to life of the society of Calcutta at the present day, with its perennial restlessness ; its annual flittings to the hills ; its periodical visits home ; its aloofness from the people, and from all, in short, who do not partake in its dancing and its dining ? The contrast between the lives of the persons who compose it, and those of the dead whom Sir W. W. Hunter is so anxious to recall to their careless minds—the men who had no Capuas to go to when the heat of the plains became intolerable, no ice, no frequent opportunities of re-visiting England, men who made the country their home and who “lived and died at their work”—is so great that we can imagine that if they could speak from the grave they would be tempted to say, “what have you to do with us, you are not of us, you could not even understand us—you do not love us, and we do not need your pity—why meddle with our tombs !” That the evil that men do lives after them, the good being often interred with their bones, is one of the lessons taught by the little volume under review, and we would fain believe that the bitter animosities, the fierce passions, the slander and malice said to be recorded in the “mass of reflections and considerations and British Museum tracts” against these poor predecessors of ours, were redeemed by softer and nobler qualities which find their record somewhere in human hearts. In spite of the many angry passions which are stilled for ever in our old cemeteries, they are, the writer tells us, “sown so thick with heroes as to leave small space for separate monuments,” and he has some very touching

stories to tell of some of those who found their last home in Calcutta. In the South Park Street cemetery, among other interesting monuments, is one to Rose Aylmer, who has been immortalised in verse by Walter Savage Landor, and in the same place rests Thackeray's father, who died when the future novelist was only four years old. As much as is known of that family in India, the writer has collected from a private Family Book of the Thackeray's, compiled chiefly by an aunt of the novelist, and his book contains a great deal of information which will be new to most people, and which, apart from the pleasant and finished style in which it is written, makes it extremely fascinating reading.

The Wheels of Chance. BY H. G. WELLS, Macmillan & Co., London & New York.

IN a story, the motive power of which is wheels, we naturally look for plenty of movement, and in Mr. H. G. Wells' latest book we have no reason to be disappointed. It deals with the adventures—or perhaps it would be more correct to say adventure—of a young man on a short cycling tour in the South of England. He is a draper's assistant at Putney. To the casual customer, a quite common-place specimen of his kind—a mere seller of woollen goods and haberdashery across a counter, with the stereotyped phrases and attitudes of his calling—a draper's assistant, and nothing more. But the casual customer is wrong. His mind is as full of dreams and fancies as Simon Tappertit's—albeit more cheerful ones—and on the vast stage he treads in his imagination he plays many parts—but never that of a tradesman's assistant. That belongs, not to his day dreams, but to his nightmares. And in this he is not so singular as many persons would, at first thought, suppose. We all have our dreams which we weave into the texture of our lives so closely that they come to form so much a part and parcel of them that we ourselves can hardly disentangle the real from the ideal.

"So many people do this," says the writer, "and you never suspect it. You see a tattered lad selling matches in the street, and you think there is nothing between him and the bleakness of immensity, between him and utter abasement, but a few tattered rags and a feeble musculature. And all unseen by you a host of heaven-sent fatuities swathe him about, even, maybe, as they swathe you about. Many men have never seen their own profiles or the backs of their heads, and for the back of your own mind no mirror has been invented. They swathe him about so thickly that the pricks of fate scarce penetrate to him, or become but a pleasant titillation. And so, indeed, it is with all of us who go on living. Self-deception is the anæsthetic of life, while God is carving out our beings."

When Mr. Hoopdriver, for such is his unromantic name, on the first morning of his holiday turns his back on the establishment of Messrs. Antrobus and Company, and begins his

ascent up Putney Hill, he first tries to shut out from his mind all memory of his workaday life, which, owing to his imaginative temperament, is easy ; then to mount his machine without serious damage to it or to himself, which, owing to insufficient practice, is difficult ; indeed, at first, impossible, for his knees and shins suffer horribly. Eventually successful, however, in this, he waits for chance to assign to him his *rôle* which, it soon becomes apparent, is in the direction of knight errantry, for he falls in with the "young lady in grey"—a fellow cyclist whom he afterwards rescues from an extremely unpleasant dilemma. She, although pretty and only eighteen, is a new woman in practice, and wishing to "live her own life," to "be herself" as she expresses it, has run away—on her bicycle and in "rational" dress—from her stepmother, an attractive widow who is also a new woman, but only in theory. It is to the lucubrations of the widow, in her latest successful novel, "A Soul Untrammelled," that the heroine owes her yearnings after a fuller and freer life, and to which she turns for a vindication of her unconventional conduct, quoting them at length in her own defence, greatly to the dismay of the writer, who has never, for a moment, intended her advanced views for home consumption. To do her justice, she has even forbidden her stepdaughter to read the book and in that manner unintentionally paves the way for her own future discomfiture. How the foolish girl is drawn into a most compromising position by the villain of the story ; how she is rescued by the hero, and taken home by her friends ; how she allows her preserver to steal a bicycle, while she gives him high-minded advice, and encourages him to work and to improve his mind by study ; all this we leave for the reader to discover for himself. The tale is told briskly and with great humour and we meet in it some interesting characters, one of whom has much to say to the disadvantage of the cycling craze to which he is himself an apparently unwilling victim.

"To have a contemplative disposition," he says, "and an energetic temperament, sir, is hell. Hell, I tell you. A contemplative disposition and a phlegmatic temperament, all very well. But energy and philosophy — !"

Mr. Hoopdriver looked as intelligent as he could, but said nothing.

"There's no hurry, sir, none whatever. I came out for exercise, gentle exercise, and to notice the scenery and to botanise. And no sooner do I get on that accursed machine than off I go hammer and tongs ; I never look to right or left, never notice a flower, never see a view—get hot, juicy, red—like a grilled chop. Here I am, sir. Come from Guildford in something under the hour. *Why*, sir ?

Mr. Hoopdriver shook his head.

"Because I'm a damned fool, sir. Because I've reservoirs of muscular energy, and one or other of them is always leaking. It's a most interesting road, birds and trees, I've no doubt, and wayside flowers, and there's nothing I should enjoy more than watching them. But I can't. Get me on that machine, and I have to go. Get me on anything, and I have to go. And I don't want to go

a bit. *Why* should a man rush about like a rocket, all pace and fizzle? *Why?* it makes me furious. I can assure you, sir, I go scorching along the road, and cursing aloud at myself for doing it. A quiet, dignified, philosophical man, that's what I am—at bottom; and here I am dancing with rage and swearing like a drunken tinker at a perfect stranger —”

Any one wanting a light book, just for the amusement of the hour, cannot do better than read “The Wheels of Chance.”

The Mystic Flowery Land. By CHARLES J. H. HALCOMBE.
Messrs. Luzac & Co., London.

WE do not find in “The Mystic Flowery Land” much that adds very greatly to our knowledge of China and the Chinese. The narrative is so very much a personal one—as indeed, the writer describes it—that it hardly justifies its somewhat comprehensive title. We have, however, accounts of adventures of a thrilling kind which read like a chapter out of a detective story, and which lose nothing of their interest from the fact that the events described actually occurred. The author, who appears to have held some post in the customs, became very much attached to a young Chinese heiress, who added to great beauty of person and charm of manner a knowledge of English and of English Customs very unusual among women in China. She was unfortunately possessed of an unscrupulous aunt, who wishing to prevent her money from going out of the family through her marriage with Mr. Halcombe, caused her to be abducted, and eventually carried off to Soochow. A very exciting search ensued in which the cleverest Chinese detective took part, and in his company the writer, disguised as a coolie, was led into opium dens, over house-tops, among chimney stacks, and, finally, into a den of thieves where they found, indeed, an unfortunate young lady who had been abducted from her friends, but who was not the one they were looking for, and who was happily, owing to their exertions, ultimately restored to her family. The other lady was never recovered, and after mourning her for some time, the writer took to wife another Chinese lady whose first introduction to him was certainly not wanting in romance.

One dark night in midwinter, when the snow lay thick on the ground and the harbour was deserted, I was awakened from my sleep by the sound of distant firing which seemed to draw nearer. Then I could hear loud shouting and a beating of tom-toms. Thinking it was perhaps some “joss pidgin” or night procession, as the Chinese often have, I lay in bed dreamily listening.

My house was enclosed in a large tree-shaded courtyard, with only one entrance through a lodge-gate where a watchman was stationed, and my “boys” slept on the opposite side of the enclosure. Suddenly I heard the lodge-gate hurriedly opened; it had very creaky hinges, and made a great noise. Then the front-door was unlatched and footsteps approached along the passage.

Jumping out of bed, I threw on my dressing gown just as some one knocked sharply on my door. Asking who it was, and receiving no reply, I opened it.

I was never more surprised in my life. I was quite mute with astonishment, for I walked a decidedly pretty young lady accompanied by her *amah*, or female attendant. You could see at a glance that there was no western blood coursing through her veins by the peculiar manner in which her long black hair was made up, gracefully combed down round the ears and gathered in a large round plait, at the back of the head, and also by her pretty warm fox-lined velvet gown, with its broad bell-shaped sleeves and artistic embroidery, and her neat little black divided skirt, with little natural feet, not the usual hoof like "golden lilies," peeping out beneath.

Hurriedly opening a bundle the *amah* carried, they brought out a complete outfit of Chinese man's clothing, and while the young lady motioned me to at once dress myself in them, the attendant who could speak a little "pidgin" English, told me that her mistress had come to save my life. There were two or three thousand murderous rebels—mutineers from the surrounding forts, and bad characters who had already massacred numbers of people—close at hand. They would be at my house in a few minutes and would murder me. There was not a moment to be lost.

The awful din of firing and yelling was now growing dangerously near. I quickly attired myself in the disguise my rescuer had brought, and while doing so could not help admiring the pluck and courage of this little young girl who had risked her own life in coming out through the dark wintry night to save mine. Who she was puzzled me more and more, but I could see she was of good birth.

Snatching up my papers, diary and cash-box, and stuffing a few articles of value in my pockets, I told them I was ready. The large fearless eyes of the young girl now lighted and flashed. She was ready, too, as she half drew a large clumsy-looking horse-pistol from her sleeve and led the way. It was fortunately a pitch dark night and freezing cold, and the snow lay thick around. The lodge-gate was half open, the watchman had gone, and we passed out unobserved. The uproar was now frightful, and several times we were nearly knocked down by unseen persons as we groped our way along.

I fully expected every moment that we should rush right into the midst of the murderous mob that seemed to be all around, as cries, yells, and shots came from every direction. But on we went, through intricate windings and turnings, and finally passed through a low arch. Then we entered old Liang Ah Tou's retreat; which was a very secluded one. The old man was absent in Shanghai, but his young daughter—the heroine of the screen—had bravely saved my life. She had saved it just in time, for I afterwards learned that shortly after I left my house the rebels broke in; and they regularly turned the place upside down.

The writer's English is occasionally very slipshod, and in places slightly involved, as in the following:—

"On this auspicious day Chinese ladies and gentlemen never comb their hair, nor the latter shave. Floors are not allowed to be swept, or even a broom to be used. Should they happen *to do so*, the new year would, according to their belief, be in consequence an unlucky one," which reminds us of a famous sentence among examples of Baboo English. His style is occasionally marked by a curious mixture of sentimentality and fine writing, tinged with a certain flavour of worldly wisdom; but the book contains a great many interesting anecdotes and descriptive passages that will well repay perusal. It is quaintly got up, and very well illustrated.

Four Children in Prose and Verse. By W. Trigo Webb. Macmillan & Co., London.

MR. W. Trigo Webb's verses on Four Children combine a certain quaintness of diction with much simplicity and

grace, and, in spite of an occasional suspicion of a false note, will awaken a responsive echo in many an Anglo-Indian breast.

The following lines will serve as samples of the rest :—

A little form so dainty small
 So soft, so tender, and so dear ;
 A little voice whose helpless call
 Is music in a mother's ear
 A little pulse of delicate breath
 Like Eve's when Zephyr whispereth.

A little arm that nerveless lies,
 Red curling fingers, tinist things ;
 Two round, blue, upward-gazing eyes
 All filled with silent wanderings
 That, as the kiss of heaven's light bids
 Now ope, now close their downy lids.

A little head, so smooth, and white
 Pert, rosy month, and fairy chin
 And cheeks all rounded to the sight
 Save where a dimple draw them in
 All in one tiny frame enwove
 As light as laughter, soft as love.

The Life of H. R. H. The Prince Consort. Condensed and translated into Bengali by J. Rudd Rainey, F. R. G. S. Smith Elder & Co., London.

IN his translation of the *Life of the Prince Consort* into Bengali, Mr. Jno. Rudd Rainey has accomplished an almost supremely difficult task with much skill and judgment. From the bane of literalness he has, to a certain extent, been saved by the nature of the work itself, which, involving as it did, the condensation of five volumes into one, made extensive changes of phraseology a matter of necessity. As for the translation, as far as we have been able to test it, it appears to be both accurate and idiomatic, and his choice of a subject seems to us a peculiarly happy one, inasmuch as the life of a man possessed in a conspicuous degree of the practical and artistic instincts in which the natives of this country are specially deficient, forms a particularly appropriate book for translation.

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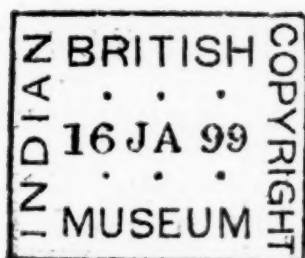
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